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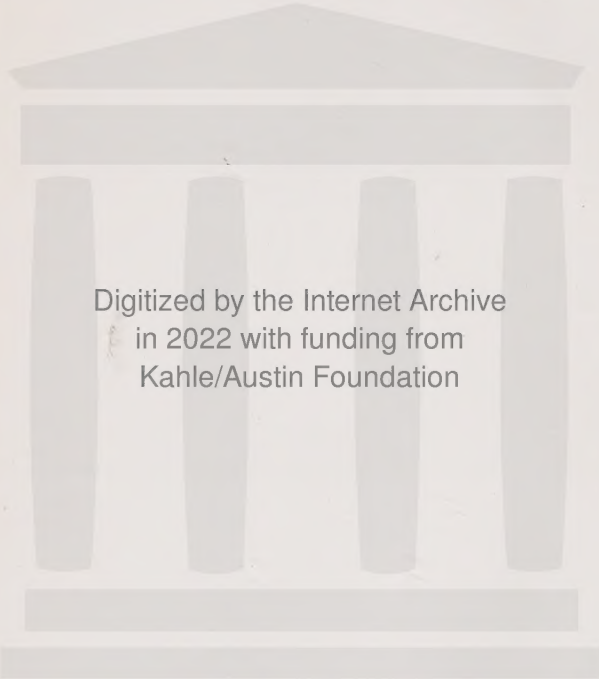
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SIR CHARLES W. MACARA









SIR CHARLES W. MACARA, BART.



Sir Charles W. Macara, Bart.

A STUDY OF  
Modern Lancashire

BY  
W. HASLAM MILLS



MANCHESTER  
SHERRATT & HUGHES  
1917

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(From a painting by C. Rowley.)

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Chairman of the Honourable East India  
Company.



# Influences







26024

## CHAPTER I

### INFLUENCES.

ONE of the best gifts for life is to be born into a definite positive atmosphere; to be racial; to taste of the soil; to have flavour, aroma, and what one may call bite. There is a number of such atmospheres. Sometimes it is a social stratum. The English governing classes are a social atmosphere to themselves. To be born into an English governing family is to belong to a soil and climate and to be one of the definite cultures of life; it is to have a bias—a bias in this instance towards public life, and an instinct and a habit for public affairs. There are counties and corners of the earth, again, in which it is almost momentous to have been born. To begin life in Aberdeen, for example, is to begin it with a start.

Fifeshire again, is a fermentation of human character, the forcing ground of a distinct type of man. Charles Wright Macara was a son of the Free Kirk Manse. This also was an atmosphere—an atmosphere oxidised by strong principles, enlarged

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by the historic experience which is called "The Disruption," enlightened by the familiar play of great names and great ideas. Nor was this all. On another side he was connected by many ties with the government of India, and heard much of life—and of death—in the remote and burning plains of Empire, and, fed and nourished thus on strong traditions, he was, himself a Fifeshire village lad, equally at home with the son of the laird and the son of the ploughman; in and out of the cottages of one of the knottiest peasantries of Scotland.

These experiences, though he may not have known it, were the silver spoon in the mouth of the young Charles Macara. They were the preparation, and almost the predestination of the life he was to live. It was his own wish to be a soldier. The manse at Strathmiglo looked at the proposition, but was not wealthy enough to entertain it, and we shall see him going into business, making his own way, and then, in later years, when his real nature began to get its scope and its chance, bringing into the industrial affairs of England the qualities of strategy, management and providing which would have made him a successful leader on

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the field. Lancashire got what the Army and what India lost—a general who knew when to advance, and, not less important, when and how to retreat; one who could fight a stern battle, and, when the time came, negotiate a lasting peace. It was he who very largely gave Lancashire a new sense and a new habit of organisation; he ushered in the new age of the collective spirit.

Others of an earlier age had won Lancashire her freedom. In the forties the object of statesmanship was to get undone things which ought not to have been done; in the nineties the problem had changed, and was to be stated in terms of getting done things which could no longer safely be left undone. It was Charles Macara who very largely showed how. His business career is part of the public life of Lancashire.



The Macaras are a clan. They are related to the larger clan of Macalpine, and their origin is traced to the Trossachs. Charles Macara was the eldest of the seven children of the Rev. William Macara, and was born at Strathmiglo, a Fifeshire village, in 1845. William Macara, the father, was born in

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Glasgow in 1812. He had a distinguished though distant relation in the person of a certain Colonel Sir Robert Macara, who flowered during the Napoleonic wars into the full command of the Royal Highlanders, and gave up his life at Quatre Bras, the day before Waterloo.

In the landscape of family history—its secluded pastures of quiet living and sober undulations of achievement and character—this Sir Robert Macara, a soldier steeped and seasoned in the strong martial brine of his times, the colonel of the wild and barbaric Black Watch, promoted and finally decorated for eminence on the field, and cut down at last on the eve of the supreme agony of Waterloo, occurs like an abrupt eminence, sudden, solitary and scarred, a spasmodic upheaval of the family habit into adventure and romance. But for him the family of William Macara was made of the good plain prose of Scottish citizenship : it was a family, at any rate, in which the ministry and the pulpit were the natural outlet of superior promise, and so we find that in 1836 William Macara, after a period of study at the Glasgow University, was licensed



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as a preacher of the Gospel by the Glasgow Presbytery of the Church of Scotland. It was a step towards ordination, though it still fell short of the full degree, and in the next few years William Macara is acting as assistant to one elderly and eminent Divine after another in the cities of Glasgow and Perth.

It was a period of great crisis and moment in Scottish politics and theology. The waters were definitely racing and churning to the brink of the Disruption; the Free Church of Scotland was stirring to its birth, and we get glimpses of William Macara, a fine presence in the pulpit and the parish; strong swimmer in the excited waters of controversy; heart and soul with the party of Chalmers; edifying his congregation in Free Church principles with such a thoroughness of edification that, when the Disruption occurred, the church at Perth left the Establishment with hardly the shedding of a single member; now attending the first General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland; now hurrying back to Perth, where he preached twice the next day from texts so minutely applicable to the crisis, and so completely

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expressive of his own views, that the argument may be said to have been clinched in their mere announcement. Still lacking full ordination, he was unable to take part in the solemn spectacle in St. Giles' Cathedral on May 18th, 1843, at which the seceding ministers asserted the spiritual independence of the Church of Christ, and then, bench after bench, and file after file, withdrew from the presence of the secular authority, but he joined them, so to speak, in the cold grey light of the street outside, and lent all his will and strength to the practical business of the next moment, which was an urgent exercise, not of theory, but of action. Born of the spirit, the new Church had yet to be born of the flesh; the Word had to be incarnated in a Church, in a governing mechanism, in a membership, in bricks and mortar. The problem came down from the high ground of pure thought, and wandered among the temporalities of law and architecture and finance.

The Free Church of Scotland was a model of practical statesmanship. Chalmers himself was at once a scholar, a saint and a consummate man of affairs, a churchman at once of the highest

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inspiration, and of the most finished technique, and we can perceive among his associates and followers a certain polish and suavity, a kind of smoothness and an aptitude for the world of men, which came of much rubbing against hard and practical affairs. It was to be seen in the character of William Macara. He was of a school of accomplished ecclesiastics. We have heard how he hastened away from his first General Assembly to confirm the knees of his congregation at Perth. The question what he should say was less urgent than the other question, where he should say it. Excluded from his own Church, he preached in a hired schoolroom, and afterwards accepted for himself and his congregation the temporary shelter of a Wesleyan Chapel. Out of such confusion the Free Church of Scotland gradually emerged. William Macara himself became, in 1844, the minister, fully ordained now, of the Free Church of Scotland at Strathmiglo, where he sustained for forty-five years a supremely diligent and well-ordered ministry of the Gospel. He was a typical son of his climate and his times; had played his part in one of the greatest events of Scottish history,

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and Charles Macara, born at Strathmiglo, drew his earliest breath in an atmosphere saturated in large ideas, strong purposes and illustrious names. It was perhaps a better patrimony than either money or an estate.

Shortly after his settlement at Strathmiglo in 1844 William Macara was married to Charlotte Grace Cowpar, a devoted daughter of the Free Church of Scotland, and a faithful follower of the Disruption movement in Perth. She was the daughter of a substantial farmer who had been Colonel of the Forfarshire Militia, but, being left an orphan at the age of five, she was, with a sister and several brothers, affectionately sustained and brought up by an uncle. This uncle—the great-uncle of Charles Macara—was Major-General Sir Archibald Galloway. The rush of young Scotsmen into the Indian Service, which was started in the late years of the eighteenth century by Dundas, the friend of William Pitt, carried young Archibald Galloway into a humble office, from which he rose by his own abilities, until he became finally Chairman of the Board of the

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Honourable East India Company, and left the name of Galloway high up among the Scottish names which we find written large in Indian history.

In India Sir Archibald Galloway had a double reputation as an administrator and a soldier. He is numbered with contemporaries like Lord Gough and Sir Marion Durand, in the company of great Indian soldiers. His own military service included much fierce and breathless fighting in the Punjab war, which gave him the experience of no fewer than thirty-five engagements. His career as an administrator was long and distinguished. He took to India the habits of a Spartan, with the result that thirty-five years of active service left his capacity for service still unexhausted, and he was able to give a further period of fifteen years to the service of the Board in London, death finally overtaking him in the office of Chairman. One of his sons was a magistrate in the Indian Civil Service, and during the Mutiny was killed at Delhi. A grandson, born at Delhi, Admiral Galloway (retired), has had a distinguished career in the Royal Navy. In the family of Mrs. William Macara Sir Archibald Galloway created a powerful

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Indian tradition. The Manse at Strathmiglo was in contact with the governing type of mind, and heard the echoes of tumultuous events. It became connected by many intimate ties with the administrative and military service in India, and quivered with the anguish of the Mutiny. To young Charles Macara India seemed to offer a possible opening. Life, as it turned out, had him reserved for other purposes, but meanwhile India, with its legends of service and sacrifice and death, was another point of view. It blended with much subtlety with the austere influences of the Free Church and the rich exhalations of life and character which arose from the village community of Strathmiglo.

Strathmiglo was indeed very formative, and the son of the Free Church minister had the freedom of the parish, and was in contact with all its social varieties. The parish of Strathmiglo is divided between the three Scottish counties of Fifeshire, Perthshire, and Kinrosshire. It was the home of a well-marked and well-defined community, a nursery of character, and, in a word, an atmosphere. William Macara's congregation in the

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Free Church of Strathmiglo consisted very largely of the farmers who cultivated a rich and fertile countryside, but, behind the farmers, and in their midst, was a settlement of handloom weavers, who held the secret, and prospered by the production of a fine linen damask. The modern factory system has swept up the weavers and their craft into its palm. They have been pocketed by the mechanical giant, and have disappeared. But in the middle of the last century they were a small and proud industrial autocracy. Many of these weavers owned their own cottages and weaving shops, and were the masters of their own lives. They were very much the same human material that Barrie found in Kirriemuir.

Heads were extremely hard in Strathmiglo; speech was broad, and faces were of granite; definite views on politics and theology, and more especially theology, were to be had for the asking, or even without the asking. Dialectics and disputation were a village sport, and even those who did not themselves play, were yet keen critics of the art and science of the game, and had the records of great performances at their finger tips. It was



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the home of the cruel political sport of "heckling." Political speakers who visited Fifeshire<sup>1</sup> in those days found themselves addressing an audience which, for all the response and reaction that could be won from it might have been the Sphinx. Whatever such a frozen silence might have betokened in Sussex or in Kent, in Fifeshire it was but the mask of an extreme activity of mind. The man and his argument were undergoing minute examination, and the result, whether favourable or unfavourable, was not yet determined. The speech was, in fact, an essential, but rather dull preliminary to the real business of the evening, which began when a questioner in the body of the hall, an accepted master of the art, proceeded to balance the speaker on a series of cunningly-invented logical dilemmas, the process causing an excitement which, in other parts of the country, is reserved for wrestling or rat-catching.

Strathmiglo was like that. Sufficient as the village was unto itself, great scenes and great ideas were yet perceptible on every quarter of its far

1. Strathmiglo is in the constituency which Mr. Asquith has represented for many years.

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horizons. From hills in the parish which would be climbed by any adventurous youth, the whole kingdom of Fife could be seen stretched to the boundaries, where it faded into the firths of Forth and Tay; in one direction the North Sea broke its teeth on the confines of high tide; in yet another, Edinburgh Castle could be seen reared above the murk of the romantic, towering city. Towards the west lies Loch Leven, with its island castle in which Mary Queen of Scots was imprisoned, and further off are the hills overlooking the field of Bannockburn, on which King Robert the Bruce marshalled his camp followers—a strategic move which is said to have had a considerable effect on the result of the memorable battle.

The Disruption of 1843 cut across Scottish society vertically, and not after the fashion of religious revivals in England, horizontally. People of the highest social standing and consequence went over, they and their houses, to the Free Church of Scotland. It was, in fact, a body to which that personal question as to the rich man and entrance into the Kingdom of Heaven came home, in the

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case of many pointed instances. However that question may be determined, there is no doubt that a rich and powerful laity in the pews ministered considerably to the social lustre of the pulpit. In his own parish, the Free Church Minister had a standing comparable with that of the English rector or vicar in his, and in the faithful parishes of Fifeshire, while the momentum of the Disruption was still unspent, there was a catholicity in the social quality of the office to which no other reformed ministry could pretend. Nor was this all. The migration of Scotsmen into England, which excited so much attention in the days of George III., was still proceeding. There were many Scottish merchants in London; there was a powerful Scottish community in Manchester. These exiles were in full sympathy with the great movement of 1843, and the Free Church minister in his remote Scottish parish found himself associated by many ties of faith and friendship with a new mercantile aristocracy in England.

We shall see how this, and not India or the Army, gave Charles Macara his opening into life. Meanwhile, although the son of the Manse, he is in

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attendance at the Strathmiglo parish school, rubbing shoulders, after the Scottish fashion, with the son of the laird and the son of the ploughman. No schooling could have been better for one who was called on in after years to meet Labour and the leaders of Labour at the level table of negotiation, and to act as a diplomatist in the strained relations of class and class. Always very definitely a member of his own class, correct and polished in speech, punctilious in clothes and all that makes the outer man, Charles Macara yet possessed, in a very marked degree, the faculty of talking to the workman and his leader as man to man. He neither strutted nor did he seem to condescend.

Meanwhile at Strathmiglo the process of academic instruction went on. The elements he had from the parish school. Latin he had from his father, in systematic doses, to which the lad, who had strong lungs and legs, and many errands of his own among the hills and on the sea-shores of Fife, offered a stout, but fruitless, resistance. But the time of the spreading of the wings was near. The village was good to be born in, but not so good to stay in. The first break in the long habit and routine of

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youth occurred with the departure to a public school in Edinburgh. At this school his academic education was continued till his seventeenth year, when it came to an end. Preparation for life had ceased; life itself began without delay. The army was beyond William Macara's means. His son therefore came face to face with the problem of self-support. There was, however, one bank on which he could draw, and in which he had indeed a good account, and that was his father's good name, his high standing in the life of Scotland, his troops of friends. With such support as these things afforded, and with his own strong constitution and the clean generations behind him, he committed himself to the deep end of life. He took the far cry. The scene changed to Manchester; the cry of the sea-birds dies away and the roar of the trodden streets begins. Charles Macara began in business. But he brought to it ambition and the large constructive view. He made the business life what it too seldom is—a liberal profession and a public career.

Victorian  
Manchester









## CHAPTER II

### VICTORIAN MANCHESTER.

IT was in 1862—the high and pompous noon of the Victorian age—that Charles Macara, then in his seventeenth year, arrived in Manchester. An opening had presented itself in the office of a firm of merchants in Mosley Street; an economical lodging was secured in Rusholme, now devoured and digested by its great neighbour, but at that time a suburb and a seclusion into whose provincial peace the city omnibus sprawled every hour like the splashing of a stone in a pond. Life had begun.

\* \* \* \* \*

If we look minutely at the outward and forbidding aspect of things, we shall find comparatively little change between Manchester of to-day and that earlier Manchester of the sixties, in which the young beginner pored over the ledgers of the Mosley Street firm, considered colours and examined textures beneath the drowsy light of the window-pane, wrestled with the furious crisis of the incoming and outgoing posts, and learned his way in and out of

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other warehouses, all of them tortuous with passages of frosted glass, all sweet and exotic with that miasma of raw calico, which, spread over the city and bottled in its narrow streets, gives Manchester its characteristic plantation smell, the smell of Uncle Tom's Cabin—an exudation on warm and stagnant afternoons as of superheated humankind. Some superficial changes have been made, but not many. They are changes, not so much in the shape, as in the speed of life.

In the sixties a youth sent across the town to collect an account or match a pattern would set his watch and calculate the period of his emancipation by the Infirmary clock; or—though this would be a little later—if the errand was worth a ride, he would sling himself in a casual and absent-minded manner on to the foot-board of an omnibus which was feeling its way at the moment behind a cavalcade of somnambulistic horses, and at the end of his journey would duly drop off into the street, the horses knowing of his departure from the community behind them not so much by any disturbance in the routine of their four feet, as merely by the relief from so much weight.

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Blackpool, though it was beginning to be visited, was not then a suburb to which one transferred oneself in the course of a conversation or a survey of the leading articles and the market report, but was definitely a destination, a goal and a climax, approached cautiously by the successive and well-defined stages of Bolton, Chorley and Preston, after which the traveller, instead of being familiar as he is now with the landward slope of every tree, and the contour of every meadow of cows, entered rather into the acute and vivid sensations, and shared the romantic status of those who are a long way from home; while those who went to London knew that they were going several weeks before, and when the time came, prepared to make a day of the journey with collapsible sandwich tins, thereby tasting, however, a joy which has been crushed out of experience by the train which bolts the miles unmasticated, and never stops—the joy of really going to London, of approaching London through the modulations of the Midlands and the home counties, savouring half a dozen different atmospheres at half a dozen deliberate and ceremonious stops—the social suavity of the platform at Rugby,

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with its hunting men and sporting dogs; the tingling expectancy of Willesden; the final surrender of dismembered tickets; and, in a word, the adventure, the romance, the fidgets.

Such was Manchester, and such its social timidity, its unsophistication in the days when Charles Macara tried at the door of fame and riches with the key of that humble opening in the warehouse of the Mosley Street firm. And yet Manchester belonged definitely, even then, to the superior class of the capital cities, and to the company of those which are looked to and resorted to by admiring, radiating, and by comparison benighted, communities outside. It was an axis, a metropolis; it had provinces. To this fact the Art Treasures Exhibition, held while Charles Macara was still growing out of his clothes and thrusting his toes out of his boots in Strathmiglo, had borne striking testimony. In the year of the Art Treasures Exhibition, Manchester summoned most of the North-west of England into the hushed presence of the arts of music and of painting; flaunted crinolines so fabulous in diameter and circumference, that the turnstiles were choked and put out of action, and



MRS. HENRY BANNERMAN.



## VICTORIAN MANCHESTER

admission had to be given through gates originally designed for the entrance of pantehnicons; and promenaded with rhythm and composure on broad and embroidered walks to the admiration of the rustic thousands whom the excursion trains had collected, and would, with the fall of night, restore to the upper watersheds of population, remote bleak and exposed.

This was Manchester society, and if further proof of its substance and sensibility was wanting, it was to be found in numerous shops, the names of which were beginning to occur in the politer conversation, and their habit to be incorporated into the *savoir vivre* of an appreciable acreage of England; in the possession of a rectangular and grimy building peremptorily and without fear of contradiction designated the Gentlemen's Concert Hall; in restaurants illuminated with gas and gleaming with monumental brides-cakes; in the visibility of a struggling club life behind the flat windows of Mosley Street; and in the hairdressers' shops, in which, on tessellated marble floors, and amid a riot of far-fetched perfumeries, the hair of the male sybarites was beginning to be brushed



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upwards by rotatory brushes on machines which revolved.

In point of fact, the town had got too big for its boots. The modern world which struggled into birth in and through Manchester had dislodged the residential population, and deposited it on sedate suburban slopes, just over the edge of the actual crater.<sup>1</sup> Manchester people no longer lived in Manchester. It was by turns inundated and forsaken by the alternations of a powerful and systematic human ebb and flow, and the mercantile streets exhibited after seven o'clock at night that state of suspended animation and condition of trance which is the characteristic of seaside pools left by the receded tide, such life as was visible—that of a belated clerk or cleaner—visibly seeking its egress into the native element which murmured low on the suburban shallows. The characteristic creations of this age and epoch were the stately suburbs of Rusholme, of Pendleton, and of Kersal. They were the homes of the authentic breed of Manchester men. Charles Macara was shaped in their school, and carried on their apostolic

1. It was in 1832 that Cobden horrified Manchester by opening a warehouse in Mosley Street, and in 1845 that he went to live in Rusholme.

## VICTORIAN MANCHESTER

succession. What manner, therefore, of men were they ?

One thing, at any rate, is certain. The type has largely disappeared. Its habitations remain, and can still be traced in Victoria Park and in Broughton Park ; on the terraced heights of Kersal and Prestwich, and in the weighty social settlements of Withington and Didsbury—heavy four-square mansions approached by drives which fork away at a given point in their progress and pursue a north-west passage through a further afforestation of rhododendron bushes to the stables, where, in the bright morning of Manchester, grooms dressed well-matched horses for the afternoon round of calls, or for the Hallé Concerts at night, and maids glanced out at them from upper windows in which cheval glasses indicated themselves majestically. Sometimes one of these houses is removed by a painful surgical operation, and a new social skin is grafted in small scarlet houses over the wound. Over large areas of these inner suburbs social anæmia has begun to indicate itself in a fading complexion and a feebler pulsation of life ; they have become institutional, and the deaf and dumb,

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the fatherless, and the patients of throat specialists count the hours where once the red family blood ran. From this house the family have been promoted into the landed aristocracy, and fallen upon a deep territorial sleep in Wales or the west of England; in another they have encountered and failed to survive the searching test of the third generation.

Much of the departing grandeur of the upper middle class was dismantled by the safety bicycle, which caused, in one season, larger social modifications and readjustments than the tall bicycle—the devotees of which were, and remained until the end, a sort of dedicated caste, a kind of alpine club—accomplished in thirty years.<sup>1</sup> Still more of this stripping of the pageantry and the trappings of life was done by the motor car. One motor car differeth not very much from another in glory, and the difference, where it principally resides, is invisible and inexplicable to the popular intelligence, but the horses and carriages of the sixties and of the seventies and eighties, the three decades

1. The only man of eminence I can discover who committed his limbs and life to the tall bicycle was Robert Lowe, afterwards Viscount Sherbrooke.

## VICTORIAN MANCHESTER

being spiritually identical, not only signalled a considerable social consequence, but specified many of its gradations, from the estate and twilight condition of dowagerdom, unmistakably notified in the elderly white horse and coachman not without a suspicion of adhesive straw, to noontide family splendour indicated in buckskin and cockades, flying foam and bevelled glass, behind which some great personal force could be seen communing with itself as it drove home. Sweeping the gravelled roads of Victoria Park; keeping themselves warm by gingerly perambulations during long afternoons of fitting and trying on in King Street and St. Ann's Square; assembling on Thursday nights outside the Free Trade Hall so that no man could count them, and outside Nonconformist Chapels on Sunday mornings in appreciable numbers; flashing their owners to public ovations at great meetings, and bringing them back to Meadow Bank and Hopefield and Sunnyside after homeric victory—or defeat—at the polls, they indicated the magnificence and variety of the social landscape in the days before Manchester had dispersed itself over two counties and along two coasts, before limited

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liability had drained much of the nourishment out of the soil of Lancashire, filled up the valleys of its society, and evolved Oldham.

But it was not only for his chariots and his horses, combined as these things often were in his life with the personal habits of a Spartan, and an inflexible custom of Christian service,<sup>1</sup> nor yet for his half-acre of back pew, with its sumptuous scriptures and dark blue rep, or for the famous physicians, in attendance at other times upon the Queen, who were telegraphed for to his sick bed, or the centipedic funeral which occurred when finally he died, that the Manchester man of this age was a notable and a personage. He was the heir of a still greater age; he was a disciple. His youth had been brooded over by Cobden and Bright, and the League. He had seen what he had seen; heard with his ears, and his father had told him.

Manchester was a city with a soul. It stood for an idea. The counting houses of Portland Street and Mosley Street, the drawing-rooms and libraries behind the rhododendron bushes of Rusholme and

1. One of the Cheetham family, who represented Lancashire in several of the mid-Victorian Parliaments, travelled from London to Ashton-under-Lyne every Saturday, without missing once, to teach his Sunday School class.

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Kersal, and the yellow stone houses among the damp enfoldments of the hills and vales of Lancashire where the calico printers lived, were altogether saturated in an idea. They were a "school." They had counted for more in modern thought than Oxford. They had melted their jewellery for a cause. They had organised stupendous bazaars, crowded together into meetings and subscription lists, and with one heave more, and yet another, had finally hoisted Manchester into the saddle from which she bestrode for two generations of time the public policy of England, Peel answering the hand on the bridle, Gladstone, through a long life, straining every sinew. And about the town there lingered for a long time, discernible in its men and its institutions, this flavour left by the passage of pure thought—astrigent, antiseptic to the infections of merely growing rich.

The principal hall of assemblage in the town, the one in which Charles Hallé interpreted Beethoven, and audiences of the well-dressed warmed their hands at the faint mid-Victorian ecstasies and sorrows of the Songs Without Words, was called,

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not after the goddess of Music or the Prince Consort, not as in Liverpool after the patron saint of England, or, as in Bristol, after the philanthropist who gave the land and an endowment, but, in a manner unusual in England, after the name of an intellectual abstraction with which Manchester had been at once platonically and practically in love.<sup>1</sup> It was not a vulgar city.

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Into this society, then, Charles Macara was launched, though not without the chance of picking up a favourable breeze. Though closely confined for the present to the undistinguished warehouse in Mosley Street, and walking a very narrow plank of spare cash, he yet had introductions, and there was no quarter of residential Manchester which did not offer him open doors. As a likeable lad with good and even distinguished connexions in Scotland, he carried some social canvas. Canvas is rather a dangerous thing when there is still no great cargo, and only such ballast as seventeen or eighteen years can be expected to have stored, and

1. The Free Trade Hall, opened in 1843 when the Anti-Corn Law League was moving swiftly to its triumph, and still so called, to the embarrassment of those who use it to preach the opposing doctrine.

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in those early days in Manchester, Charles Macara, sailing light, but not unhandsomely rigged, is beating down the treacherous channel of well-appointed, well-connected impecuniosity. Many have come definitely to grief in those shallows; others hang about them a life-time, and never reach the broad and buoyant water over the bar, biography, and particularly commercial biography, being crowded with the figures of those who have risen to wealth and station from nothing, but exhibiting comparatively few who have achieved the more difficult feat of rising from something. There is nothing so difficult to live down as a start in life. Charles Macara kept up appearances sturdily. Somehow or another he managed to square good looks, good manners, and a rather nicely-cut coat with very slender means.

No one suspected that ends only just met. Mrs. Parlane—a member of the Barbour family—who invited him to her house in Stanley Grove on Saturdays, and put him in the way of meeting the wealthy Scottish set in Manchester—the Barbours, the Bannermans, the Maclarens, the Thorntons, and the Blairs—did not suspect it—or



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perhaps she did, and guessed that a better dinner than the Rusholme lodging, or the cheap restaurants in the town could supply at the price, would do a Fifeshire lad with an appetite almost as much good, if not more, than the conversation.

The Grosvenor Square Presbyterian Church was a great resource. The fact is not always understood that in the days when the theatre was still regarded as malarial, miasmatic, and the music-hall was not less on the shady outskirts of the town than the mortuary, and there was nothing like the present free trade in pleasure, religious sectarianism was the principal calorific of the English towns, as it remains the principal calorific of the villages to this day—roof, coals of fire, and fellowship. Sects and schisms—they ran like heating pipes through cold chambers, radiating that very high degree of warmth which comes from the agreement and communion together of small and isolated, and in some cases despised minorities, spreading the arts of music, oratory and public affairs. Charles Macara found a debating society at Grosvenor Square, and in that society he disentangled the affairs of Church and State in the company of other

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young Scots—John Alexander Beith, who became President of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, and John Kenworthy Bythell, who was afterwards the Chairman of the Directors of the Manchester Ship Canal.

Meanwhile, on the commercial side, the prospect unfolded itself slowly. The day of small things in Mosley Street was followed by a temporary removal from Manchester to Glasgow, which had the attraction of being considerably nearer home. In Glasgow Charles Macara grew out of his first youth, added considerably, in the service of a firm of merchants, to his knowledge of business, and in 1868, at the age of twenty-three, was able to take his first important post. This post he secured with the great jute firm of Cox Brothers, of Dundee. One of the four brothers who founded this business had married a cousin of Mrs. William Macara, of Strathmiglo, and it was through this relationship that Charles Macara came into contact with one of the super-firms of British industry, which carried on vast operations in Dundee and in India, and was represented in all the great commercial centres of the world. He was appointed to assist

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in representing it in Manchester, and this event may be taken as his definite beginning as a Manchester Man. All the ties which he had formed during his first brief stay in the city, and broken on his departure to Glasgow, were repaired, and it was not now as a lad who was glad of a friend, but as a young man who was beginning to be of definite account, that he joined the substantial society which gathered every Sunday morning in the Grosvenor Square Church for the preaching of Dr. Munro. The business of Cox Brothers had not been flourishing in the district of Manchester as the governing intelligence in Dundee desired that it should. Charles Macara gave it a new drive and new direction, and it was not long before he was at the head of the Manchester branch, with a free hand over a large area of commercial England. He held this office with the firm until 1880, when he was succeeded in it by a younger brother from the Manse at Strathmiglo, going himself in that year, to a larger sphere, and coming for the first time within sight of the work of his life.

The House of  
Bannerman







## CHAPTER III

### THE HOUSE OF BANNERMAN.

IN 1875 Charles Macara, then in his thirtieth year, and still in the service of Cox Brothers, of Dundee, had taken the momentous step of marriage. The union which he made in that year was destined to turn decisively the current and direction of his life, and was not without its bearing on the course of events in Lancashire. It liberated into the atmosphere a new personal force. But not yet. Thus far, through the morally decisive years in which the deposits of living are laid in the small decisions of life, its daily and hourly refusals or assents, its yeas and its noes, its to-morrows and its nows, each one so diminutive that only a microscope could reveal its quality and structure, and yet forming in the mass a concrete so hard and fast that only a miracle shall modify its determinations, Charles Macara had planned and built his own fortunes. And so he continued to do for yet five years more after his marriage. During that period of time he still represented the Dundee firm, and

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added ounce by ounce, and inch by inch, to his weight and stature in Manchester. Then in 1880 the call came to bigger things. The dawn broke, and found him ready to march. In that year he was summoned to one of the most famous of Manchester Houses. Marion Young, whom he had married five years before, was a daughter of the house of Bannerman.

\* \* \* \* \*

Bannerman's! It is not the full name of the old-established business house of which Charles Macara became in 1880 the managing partner. Its full name, with a summarisation of its calling and mission to the world, is written on the monumental brass-plate in York Street, but Manchester knows it emphatically—emphatically, rather than briefly, for it is still a vibrant and sonorous name, a kind of deep-stop in the organ of the town's common speech—as Bannerman's. Manchester is curiously precise and pedantic in the handling of its household names. There are firms which are never summoned into conversation, but all the partners must appear on parade; others in which the attendant "company," the "sons" or "brothers," and, in an

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occasionally arresting instance, the "nephews," are invoked. And there are others which, with the same invariableness, float about the common talk like disembodied spirits. They have become elemental, and their names are short and stark. They have mislaid their minuter descriptions, like Melba and Patti, the resulting effect of the phenomenon being one of much grandiosity. It is by such curt and rough indications as "Philipses" and "Wattses" and "Rylandses" that Manchester signifies dynasties. A man has but to tell a suburban railway carriage, if the fact be not already perfectly well known, that he buys or sells for "Philipses," or more vaguely, but still intelligibly, that he is at "Wattses" and the whole carriage will immediately comprehend and moodily visualise the universe which he inhabits. To be like that is to be institutional. Bannerman's is like it.

There is a state to be kept up. There are lingering domestications. It has china and silver and a man-servant. It dines. It has the faculty found only in the very proudest realms of trade and commerce, and reserved usually to private banks, though joint-stock banks noticeably aspire after it



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in their head offices, of totally preserving its dignity in the face of an unreserved odour due to the steaming of vegetables. These things imply tradition and length of days. They are the ways of merchant princes, and merchant princes are to be distinguished from the modern breed of professional millionaires, who rush furiously from boardroom to boardroom, and give out "yes" and "no" in the vestibules of expensive hotels. And then it is understood all over the town that Bannerman's has lofty associations and the fact is well in the general consciousness, though many are vague as to how it came about, that it gave a Prime Minister to England. York Street flows mutely by its feet and reflects contentedly its sedate, rectangular splendour. York Street itself belongs to the sober noon-days of Manchester. Its architecture is of the second period of the modern city; the first, discoverable in the regions of Cannon Street, where, amid what were once the courts and alleys and lanes of the mediæval town, lies the shameful *débris* of the orgy of profits, which began with the coming of steam; the third represented by the self-consciousness of King Street banks. And over

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York Street, so sepulchral and unearthly on Sunday, so soiled and secular on Monday, there broods the big sign-board with the big name. Bannerman's!

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To unearth the founder of the firm we shall have to go back to Scotland, and in Scotland—more precisely in Perthshire—in the very earliest days of the nineteenth century, we shall find the Henry Bannerman of the York Street sign-board and the brass-plate. According to every rule of fortune-making, this Henry Bannerman, when we find him in the Perthshire farm, should be a promising, and probably it might turn out on a narrower examination, a precocious infant in arms, or, at the most, he should be dreaming dreams and viewing the rural prospect with distaste at the tail of the plough. To our surprise we find that though owner of the land, he is himself the farmer; that the farm has been, not a failure, but a success; that he has a family of six sons, the eldest grown already to full manhood, and showing every likelihood of being a successful farmer too, and six daughters; and that he is himself at least fifty-five years of age. Henry

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Bannerman seems, indeed, when we first find him in the small hours of the nineteenth century, to have already determined and declared himself, and his career, as we survey its completed journey, resembles the course of a river, which, when almost within sound of the diapason of the awaiting sea, suddenly doubles back upon itself, turns inland again upon life, and finally winds home through a different latitude and a different physiography.

Far away on his Perthshire farm, though not perhaps even in Perthshire beyond the reach of the travelling pack-horses which were distributing Manchester goods over far and wide, Henry Bannerman heard of the heaving commotions of that convulsed and chosen and apparently inspired city; how that hardly a day passed but steam was admitted into the vitals of someone's mechanical hobby, and behold the thing worked; how that the hand-loom weavers were leaving the eaves of domestic industry, still to be seen in the stone villages of undulating Lancashire, and were flocking for the great migration into factories, where they revealed themselves in a new social and spiritual significance as "hands"; how that the factories

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were an uproar, and that one of them in Salford had but recently been lighted by a new and dazzling illuminant peremptorily called "gas"; how that the newly-established Chamber of Commerce, or "Association of Trade," was beside itself with the habits of the gentiles who devoured Manchester goods, but recoiled from paying for them. It was the new age. To Henry Bannerman, mainly because we never recognise history when we see it in the making, it was not so much the new age as, and that even at fifty-five with its overfacing handicap, the new opportunity. It was, however, to be approached cautiously. David Bannerman, the eldest son, was sent to Manchester to survey the prospects on the spot.

In the meantime the rest of the family remained at home, and the routine of the farm went on, seed-time and harvest and seed-time again. In Manchester David Bannerman began at once to do well. Within a few months he had a warehouse and a partner in Marsden Square which is to be seen to-day, an authentic remnant of early mercantile Manchester, and in a year or two Manchester itself is no longer an experiment. Word is sent to the

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family in Perthshire that it is no longer an experiment, but a result. Without further delay Henry Bannerman uprooted himself. He gat himself thence, so heavy the encumbrances that he carried with him, so numerous the family, such the tribe, and such, be it added, the faith, that it resembles a migration of the patriarchs.

Nor was it carried out without adventures on the way. The journey was from Perthshire to Glasgow, and thence by sea to Liverpool. The vessel was fourteen days at sea, and the last twenty miles, after long waiting for a breeze that would serve into port, had to be done in an open boat. At last, however, it was accomplished, and the next news of the travellers is that the firm of Henry Bannerman and Sons—the sons being David, the pioneer, Alexander, John and Henry, for Andrew, the youngest, became a calico printer in another firm—has been established in Market Stead Lane, and is trading in fustians, cotton ticks, grey and white calicoes, nankeens, muslins and plain fabrics, and the family is living in Mosley Street, where it keeps two maids. It is possible out of various fossils preserved in the stratum of modern Manchester to

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re-furnish the former ages of the town. Tudor Manchester may still be imagined with the help of a conspicuous fragment in Market Place, but that other age, infinitely less distant in time, hardly less remote in spirit, during which—some twenty years before the first cab was launched on the streets of Manchester,<sup>1</sup>—the Bannermans lived in Mosley Street, has to be recovered from an occasional domestic doorway to a warehouse, though a more sustained similitude of it is to be found in St. John Street.<sup>2</sup> In such houses as may still be found in St. John Street, with their folding shutter boxes and candelabra, with the swift and steep ascent from the secularities of the front street door to the overpowering sanctities of upper chambers, with every plain surface concealed by its antimacassar, the life was lived—lived by men whose rolling collars and love-lorn stocks, and generally ambrosial air, seems hardly in keeping with the severe commercial rectitude and counting house virtuosity which were also theirs. It was the classical age of Manchester; the age of Cobden's citizenship; the age of Moses and the prophets.

1. In 1839 its "stand" was in Piccadilly.

2. The "Harley Street" of Manchester.

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Henry Bannerman died in 1823, his second career having lasted some fifteen years. Six years later, in 1829, his eldest son David, the pioneer of the family adventure, died also in the prime of life. He has the distinction in local history of being the first Dissenter to be elected borough-reeve, the executive head of the town, whose mediæval and operative office melts out of reality in the dawn of incorporation, and is reproduced in the plainer prose of the modern mayoralty. The family business was carried on by his brothers, and, after their retirement, by his two sons, James Alexander Bannerman and David Bannerman, and his nephew, William Young.

The house of Bannerman was by this time prospering exceedingly. A succession of removals from one street in mercantile Manchester to another ended in the late thirties in the final settlement in York Street. As we approach the fifties and sixties, we find the sons of Henry Bannerman releasing themselves from the routine of Manchester, and becoming county gentlemen. Henry bought the Hunton estate, in Kent, which he developed, becoming in time one of the largest hop growers

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in England. He filled the office of High Sheriff of Kent, and died at Hunton Court in 1871. John bought the estate of Wyastone Leys in Herefordshire, the Mansion House of which, on the banks of the Wye, is one of the notable homes of England.

Considerable events attended on the marriages of the daughters of the Mosley Street house. Janet Bannerman married a certain James Campbell, who made a fortune in business in Glasgow, became Lord Provost of that city, and was knighted. The second son of this marriage, Henry Campbell, was made the heir of Henry Bannerman, of Hunton Court, added Bannerman to his surname, and as Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, became Prime Minister of England. Another daughter married James Young, and it was owing to this marriage, and his own union with their granddaughter, Marion Young, that Charles Macara entered the firm at that critical moment, when its youth was spent, and its traditions growing a little dim. With his entrance the firm renews its youth, and begins to belong, as it had not belonged before, to the public life of Manchester. We shall see how the sedate dining-room in York Street sees miracles



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done in the handling of matters and men, and how for twenty-one eventful years York Street itself is something like the Downing Street of the cotton trade.

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It is from houses like that of Bannerman and the multitude of other houses like it in character, that Manchester gets its distinct commercial atmosphere. They give it its Venetian caste among the cities of the Empire. They radiate a powerful gentility, and, in Moss Side, Alexandra Park, and other bow-windowed and aspidistraed suburbs, nourish large populations which get their livings with pens behind their ears. This is often counted against Manchester for a reproach. Philosophers who have had occasion to lose their tempers with the town, have complained of it, and have sworn in their wrath that Manchester is sedentary ; that it is a city of middle-men, seignors and burghers, who make nothing but money, who spin not, neither do they weave, and have argued themselves, and would argue the world, into a low fever of cosmopolitanism ; and that the town is, in point of fact, a Babel of half the known and several of the unknown languages of the earth. The charge does not lie at any rate

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against the house of Bannerman, which spins and weaves as well as distributes, and as a general accusation against Manchester it conflicts awkwardly with the traditional military spirit<sup>1</sup> of the town. The truth is that the cotton trade, of which Charles Macara rose, as we shall see, to be the head in title and in fact, is about the highest and most nervous form of life in the kingdom of commerce, and the separation of function as between one member and another, though of the same body—broker, spinner, yarn agent, manufacturer and merchant—set in early, and grew more and more marked according to biological law. The second largest trade in the country after agriculture, it is as subject as agriculture to variations in practice due to habit and climate and soil. South Lancashire spins, and North and North-east Lancashire weaves. In South Lancashire Bolton spins fine yarn, and Oldham just as inveterately spins medium and coarse yarns.

Among the weaving towns, again, there are localisations, Blackburn and Burnley living largely on India, Nelson and Colne weaving coloured yarn. Bolton, which is on the dubious frontiers of

1. Exhibited notably in 1914, when the sedentary warehousemen and clerks joined the colours *en masse*.

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spinning and weaving and has a foot in both camps, ministers to the feminine vanities of the civilized world. Where there are these fine shades of difference in manufacturing practice we should expect the more elementary distinction between the merchant and the manufacturer. The earliest Lancashire manufacturer was his own distributor. For the home trade he employed travellers, who perambulated the country at the head of small processions of pack-horses; in such European countries as were open to him he had agents who sold his goods at periodical fairs, of which the fair at Frankfort in Germany was a notable example. It was to guard against the perils of this method of trading that the Chamber of Commerce, which afterwards took to high politics and won a place for itself in history, came into being.

The rapid growth of the trade in the age of steam <sup>1</sup> split the rude organisation of the eighteenth

1. The first steam engine for spinning cotton was erected in Manchester in 1789. Forty years later—in 1830—Lancashire sent abroad cotton goods of the total value of £19,428,000, and constituting more than half the foreign trade of England. In 1860 the value of Lancashire's cotton exportation had grown to £75,551,178. In 1913 England sent abroad in manufactured goods of all kinds the equivalent of £411,000,000, of which Lancashire contributed in cotton goods slightly less than one-third. The exportation of Lancashire piece goods to India alone, in one year before the European war, was more than £37,000,000.

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century. The Manchester merchant disentangled himself from the main body of the trade, and Manchester, the seat of the market, began to acquire that exotic and outlandish flavour which contrasts so curiously with the stubborn, and as it is exhibited in Oldham, the ferocious insularity of the county. Much of the distributing business fell into the hands of the immigrant Scotsmen, of whom Henry Bannerman was one, and Charles Macara, in due time and succession, another. The German agents of the eighteenth century became the German residents of the nineteenth. It was the break-up in 1825 of the Turkey Company, which introduced the Greeks, and settled them at Kersal, and the Greeks were followed in course of time by the Armenians and the miscellaneous company of the Levantines, the small change of humankind.

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The house of Bannerman's was some seventy years old when Charles Macara came to manage it in 1880, and in the next few years he is busy in York Street spring-cleaning; breaking doors and opening windows into papistical chambers; conquering the active opposition, and, much more formid-

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able, the passive resistance of the pontifical spirit. The broad classification of Lancashire trade is into home and foreign, and home trade includes colonial trade, the raciality and psychology of the two being the same. He closed down the Canadian trade of the house, and abolished the fancy goods departments, which still remain a large part of the home and colonial trade of Manchester, and trained the firm exclusively on "heavy" goods, by which denomination Manchester understands such grave and reverend sanctities as counterpanes and curtains, quilts and sheets and blankets, flannels and calicoes and all the family of things which stand in relationship to the same idea. It is from these things, and the soul of these things, that a home trade warehouse gets its air of an intense domestic anxiety. They are the things which essentially and finally matter to life. More than furniture of wood or brass, and much more than ornaments of silver and of gold they breathe the spirit of careful and settled living. They are very near to life and death. They are the solicitude and circumspection of matrons. They are Manchester's contribution to the world.

## The Operatives

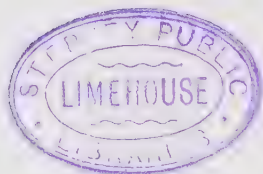






REV. WILLIAM MACARA.







## CHAPTER IV

### THE OPERATIVES.

BUT it is still neither primary nor essential Lancashire. The warehouse in York Street, York Street itself, and all mercantile Manchester, even Mosley Street round the corner, and perhaps especially Mosley Street with its banks and clubs, and its club-men twinkling like glow-worms in the eternal twilight of deep smoke-rooms, and applying themselves behind upper windows to cool and admirable luncheon tables even these things, and all these things together, are neither primary nor essential Lancashire. They are parasitical on Lancashire; an excrescence on the real life and organism. Nothing is more remarkable in Lancashire than the comparative invisibility of its typical and characteristic people. They are always behind the veil, and the best view of the cotton trade is to be obtained on the coast at Blackpool, or even further away than Blackpool, across the Irish Sea, in the Isle of Man, a self-governing unit of the British Empire which lives almost entirely on the

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profits of Lancashire's annual recreation of body and mind. Here, at the proper season of the year, we shall find the originals—the assembled Card and Blowing Room hands, the amalgamated Spinners, the linked companions of the weaving sheds, and, in a word, the operatives, a term which has been appropriated by Lancashire, and, applied as it is to cotton workers alone among the regiments of mechanical craftsmen, reflects the pronounced delicacy of the process, and the skill rather than strength of those who carry it on.

At Blackpool we shall find the true types. The overlooker in a Sabbatical garment, surmounted by a new cap of pale grey, maintains behind a ceremonious cigar, a sturdy independence of the sunset; his wife, a pace and a half behind him, is absorbed in the passive assimilation of oxygen, and the frequency of the salutations, the plentiful occurrence in conversation of familiar and self-explanatory names—"our James Henry" and "our Violet"—are due to the circumstance that a whole street, and probably almost a whole town, has risen *en masse* and migrated to the coast. Nothing is new to them except their surroundings. At night

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the electrification of the town is seen twenty miles out to sea by lonely mariners; and multitudes as of the Apocalypse sway to the music of great orchestras on floors of glass. They are the operatives. Manchester itself hardly knows them. Only on the north-eastern frontiers of the city, and there overlain by the more recent stratifications of chemicals and engineering, are the blue shawls, oval faces, and powdered hair which are characteristic of the staple trade, to be seen at all. And even in the true cotton towns they are not to be seen except at certain times of processional going in and coming out.

In the unchartered hours of morning and afternoon the Lancashire factory town is in a condition of partial trance. Only a meagre middle-class life, struggling for existence in the deeply impoverished soil, stirs faintly in and out of shop doors in the main street. From up the steep side streets there arises the sustained intonation of invisible machinery, broken by the recurring pulmonary troubles of exhaust pipes. On a hot afternoon the town perspires steam; it is as resonant as an organ loft. Across the mill yard a boy wheels a skip full of yarn; the mill manager, in his alpaca cap, discusses

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technicalities with a sky-blue engineer; the engine itself is dimly discernible behind glass, like an appalling tiger in a cage; and a row of houses with terra-cotta lace curtains and powerfully raddled window-sills try to look over the high wall. In the long street constituted by these houses, elderly and monumental women discuss the revolving pageantry of births and funerals; if it be evening and the genial time of the year, spinners read the news of the day in doorways which admit into interiors rich in brass and mahogany, and busts of Charles Dickens glare defiantly, and similar chiselled representations of Queen Victoria brood majestically at fan-lights over the doors. Primary and essential Lancashire!

It is one of the definite climates and cultures of earth; a nursery; a frame under which life runs some riot. Its men are the cool and instructed connoisseurs of a wide range of arts and accomplishments—of the times and speeds of homing pigeons, the leg-passing of centre forwards, and the crescendoes and diminuendoes of almost morbidly perfect brass bands. In its Whit-week it has a season of the year, a ritual and rubric of the calendar, almost to itself. The minute accuracy

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with which Whit-week is every year performed, with its trombones, its blue silk banners, and spiritual pride, its frankly denominational ostentations and rivalries, its buns and lemonade at the supreme moment of pageantry, its day-trips by waggon, canal boat or rail, according to the day of the week, is an achievement of Medes and Persians. The community is one considerably addicted to dress. The transformation which is effected in individual cases somewhere between the weaving shed and the promenade at Blackpool, or even between the weaving-shed and the Sunday School choir, is the theme of general remark, but Lancashire is perhaps the one community in the world in which the final essence is ingeniously extracted from the precious experience of new clothes by the simple device of all putting them on on the same day. The sensation which each individual experiences in his own person is multiplied vicariously and the phenomenon, as it occurs on Whit-Sunday, resembles the casting of its skin by a particularly large snake. Politically the community is incalculable and unsteady. The Lancashire operative has always been strongly in favour of Factory Acts,

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factory inspection, and the regulation by the State of his hours and conditions of work. But these views have been limited and sectional to his own trade, and not in any way a part of a general collectivistic conception of politics. They have, in fact, been combined very frequently with a sturdy and even truculent Church-and-Stateism,<sup>1</sup> and not seldom in certain parts of the county with a definite clerical-mindedness which is accounted for in part by the historic Catholicism of some of the northern regions of the county. The cotton operatives have shown no great leaning to the political theorisation which makes so many State Socialists among the engineers, nor is he pronouncedly under the influence of the minor Methodist bodies which nourish the orthodox Radicalism of the miners. But he is in the very forefront of the classical trade unionism of England; he is of the straitest sect, and it was in this capacity and character that Charles Macara became aware of him, fought him, got to know him better, and finally co-operated with him in large acts of statesmanship for the peace of the whole trade.

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1. James Mawdesley, the famous leader of the Operative Cotton Spinners, was a Conservative candidate for Oldham with Mr. Winston Churchill in 1890.

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The house of Bannerman serves the two offices of production and distribution. In Manchester it is the merchant of cotton and other goods; in the provinces of Manchester it spins and it weaves. During the course of its history the firm became possessed of mills and machinery in Ancoats, in Dukinfield and in Stalybridge. The journey from one of these places to the other and on to the third is not long, but it contains sharp and definite transitions. Ancoats, incidentally, the home of fine cotton spinning, is the blunt and stark butt-end of Manchester; it is powerfully rivetted down by railway arches; its open spaces are goods yards; canals evaporate white steam at the bottom of deep fissures, and the gasometers are like fungus in a sour field. From these presences the resident population of Ancoats has not fled; rather has it crowded in, and small houses teeming with life are encrusted in every crack, holding on to the great works—holding on to each other like barnacles clinging to the knees of towering rocks. In the streets of Ancoats mechanics sit at their doors on summer nights and contemplate the face and listen to the inner spiritual trouble of gigantic



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engineering establishments cooling down, communing with themselves, bubbling, squeaking, spitting and dithering like kettles uneasily on the hob. The local spirit of Ancoats has been trodden out by the march of events, and all its institutions, except cotton, engineering, goods, grease and gas are exotics carried there—holiness tabernacles, lectures on the pre-Raphaelites and societies for impressing on mothers the extreme desirability of having a clear egress from each end of a feeding-bottle—by earnest landscape gardeners from Altrincham. The only traces of native Lancashire are the heavy chalking of the pavement for “hop-scotch,” the habit of sitting outside upper window-sills on Friday evenings for the better use of a wash-leather, and the appearance occasionally at an open door of the mother of a family who, after announcing her intention of “warming” one of her offspring half a mile down the street turns in again, not at the moment pursuing the matter further, though even so, the manifesto has neither the buoyancy, nor the piercing shrillness and general carrying quality, nor the evident underlying intention of doing no such thing which it would

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have, for instance, in Dukinfield, the second of the cotton climates in which Charles Macara found himself face to face with the natives.

For Dukinfield is double-dipped in itself. Somewhere in Dukinfield, at some convenient and commanding confluence of its streets, ancient and superannuated men will be found assembled morning after morning to survey and savour circumambient Dukinfield as Dukinfield, and not as Manchester, nor as Ashton-under-Lyne, its larger neighbour to which it is slightly sycophantic, nor even yet as Stalybridge, with which it joins in a Member of Parliament. Its proudest institution is an inter-denominational cemetery, and by force of having this cemetery it is suddenly promoted at the most supreme and solemn moments of life to be the centre, capital and destination of a widespread community. In the possession of this cemetery it has the pull over even Ashton-under-Lyne, which is tributary to it, and the way up to the cemetery is processional so many times a day, that, though a residential thoroughfare, it has the air of being a long elastic tentacle to the voracious pallid organism at the top of the hill. Such is Dukinfield,

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with the perpetual throbbing of its machines and the powerful downdraught of smoke on its wet afternoons, and yet is there no place in Lancashire, or in the spilling over of Lancashire into Cheshire which occurs here, where the contrast is so sharp between the secular street and its successive interiors, sanctimonious with steel fenders and china dogs, or any town in all the sisterhood of towns where tea-time occurs every afternoon with a more pungent fragrancly of back-stone muffins, or where "th' master's" rocking chair, with the crimson rep cushion, is more happily situated in regard to any possible draught, or where there are more harmoniums.

And Stalybridge is yet another climate. It is at Stalybridge<sup>1</sup> that the far eastern frontiers of the cotton trade grow faint on the margin of the Yorkshire moors, and the smoke from stone chimneys rides processionally towards the country of the grouse. It is one of the towns in which the cotton trade has blossomed into much personal eminence and sustained ruling families. Among the green hills which slope almost to its

<sup>1</sup>. The town is named as typical of the new times in Disraeli's "Coningsby."

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back doors, there is a number of very large houses, and these houses in the days before limited liability had devitalised the soil, were the homes of a powerful manufacturing aristocracy, some members of which had stood for Parliament, and others travelled much in Italy. Their carriages—driven in the more splendid instances by fur-tipped men—flashed through the streets of Ashton and Stalybridge any afternoon in the week, and their habit of placing “notes” in collection boxes on Sunday mornings made the district a classical “auxiliary” of the London Missionary Society. There are people living who can remember seeing the hounds process through its main streets in charge of a faded, yet nevertheless authentic, huntsman. And yet Stalybridge, for all its glimpses into country life, and the over-lordship of its “Priories” and “Eastwoods,” its “Woodfields” and its “Staveleas,” with their turrets and gables, and blue domestic smoke dimly discernible among trees, has been one of the volcanic regions of the cotton trade, and has germinated distinguished strikes. It is one of the towns which exhibits—perhaps it exhibits better than any other—the combination of a slight industrial

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turbulence with an almost servile respect for the House of Lords, the bench of bishops, the Union Jack, the bull-dog, and every institution disliked and distrusted by the soul of John Bright.

This is at first sight a perversity, but it is historic, and shares the respectability of all historic things. It is the operatives' rejoinder to the opposition of Radical manufacturers to the successive Factory Acts, which have always been a leading object with the trade unions of cotton operatives. The defeat of the Liberal party in Lancashire in 1874 was attributed at the time to Professor Fawcett's speech on a Nine Hours' Bill in the Parliament which had then been dissolved, nor was there any part of the country in which Lord Randolph Churchill's half-defined and nebulous programme of Tory Democracy which was understood to mean—so far as it could be understood to mean anything—a better time for the masses, always, however, within the established order of Church and State, met with a readier acceptance. Not that the Conservative employers, who won elections out of this state of things, were any more in favour of Factory Acts than their Radical brethren. They

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had, however, a larger share of original and mundane humanity ; they had redeeming vices, and their names slipped easily into the diminutives of Dick and Harry and Tom, Ashton-under-Lyne, for example, being represented for many years by a genial obscurantist whom all the mill and all the town knew gloriously as “ Tommy Mellor.” No one would ever have thought of abbreviating the name—even if any possible abbreviation had suggested itself—of Hugh Mason, and John Bright remained “ John Bright ” to the end, majestic, stark and formidable—somewhat frowning !

It was at the Brunswick Mill in Ancoats that Charles Macara had his first conflict with the operatives of Lancashire. The affair occurred in 1884, four years after he assumed the management of the firm of Bannerman, and it was one of those sudden and savage outbreaks which were then climatic to the cotton trade ; one of the inter-tribal vendettas between a master and his men which used to occur in the days before Federation ; before the organisation of the two great armed states of employers and employed, under which, though war contemplates extermination, peace has some security

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as peace. At the Brunswick Mill there was in 1884 a renewal of machinery. A temporary adjustment of wages was proposed, upon which the minders and piecers in the mule spinning department went out on strike. Nothing less than this was to be expected, because the mill was then one of the fever spots of the trade, and had been the scene of eleven strikes in eight years. On this occasion Charles Macara, not perhaps without some slight enjoyment of the experience, took up the challenge, engaged other minders and piecers in place of those who had gone out on strike, and announced that the machinery would continue to run. Then there began a savage conflict for which Ancoats was by training and disposition only too well suited, though even in the more temperate zones of the cotton trade, the strikes of this period were bitter and inflammatory affairs, with the shrill cries of women, the stampeding of the strike breakers by the heated community outside, the pursuit of the strike breakers to the station, and above and through it all, the blank stare of the ghostly windows of the mill and the obstinate, unstoppable singing of the machines.

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Charles Macara bivouacked the strike breakers beneath army blankets in the covered mill yard at night; tales circulated in Ancoats that they enjoyed the companionship of a savage dog. The strike was marked by numerous acts of violence, which were avenged in the police courts. There were rumours of vitriol, and the Chief Constable of Manchester warned him that he was in peril of his life. Nevertheless, he fought on. The unaffected departments of the mill held on to their work or were ready to return to it as they were called on, and in due time the forty-five minders, with double the number of piecers, who were auxiliary to them, sued for peace, and finally asked to be taken back on the old terms. Charles Macara refused. It was the first sharp taste of him the operatives ever had that he refused to have these feverish minders back again on any terms, and that the mill in which they had struck eleven times in eight years knew them thereafter no more. Nor was it, as we shall see, so unhappy a beginning of the long acquaintance between him and them.

Charles Macara will be remembered in the cotton trade chiefly for conciliation and compromise, and



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for many happy efforts in the art of give-and-take.<sup>1</sup> But conciliation is the prerogative of the man who has proved himself strong, and the Ancoats strike was important as revealing in him a man who would fight to the end if he felt sure of his cause, and who, though open to reason, was impervious to fear. The strike at the Brunswick Mill in 1884 belongs to past history. Years afterwards, James Mawdesley, the famous leader of the Operative Spinners, returning to a room in which critical decisions were swaying this way and that, asked Charles Macara to banish from his mind the strike of 1884. And, indeed, it is of a time and temper which can never return. It would not burn in the modern atmosphere of Lancashire. For it will be observed that he fought the men without any aid from his brother employers; that the men fought him without support from other workers under the same roof, whose interests were identical in the long run with theirs; and that there was no large and impartial authority to arbitrate between the two. It was before the reign of law. We shall see how the reign of law came in, and how he helped to establish and strove to extend it.

1. *Vide* Appendix E, p. 276 *et seq.*



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# Masters and Men







## CHAPTER V

### MASTERS AND MEN.

It would be possible to compile out of modern history a long list of the things which have failed to ruin England. Quite half the modern institutions of the country—education, education which was not only popular but compulsory and free, the trade union, the vote, the vote by ballot, and even the Labour Member—are so much domesticated doom; they entered the enclosure wearing the similitude of lions, but if we leave them and look at them again in a few years we find them lying down with lambs. Politics, religion and industry all alike contribute out of their modern history to the company of rather sheepish spectres. The extension of the franchise in 1832 to the sedate middle class of England was feared and fought as something that would inaugurate a reign of terror, and, rather earlier than 1832, bishops in the House of Lords were voting with prayer and fasting against all proposals to stop awarding the penalty of death for stealing from clothes-lines. The

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Nonconformist has mixed so well with society that it is difficult to believe how he also has been a spectre, warned off the premises for many years, and regarded even in modern times, and by modern intelligences, as a danger to faith and morals, whether trying to take his B.A. at Cambridge or to get himself interred in a churchyard.

Popular education, again, was greatly feared as likely to obliterate the precious distinctions between class and class, and is still generally blamed in the South of England, and in the more secluded and unruffled backwaters of society in the North, for the scarcity and the puffed-up demeanour of parlour-maids, a charge of which it is partially acquitted by the evidence of Addison and the essayists that ladies in the age of Queen Anne were complaining of exactly the same thing. As the deluge, each one of these things failed. The first fruit of the Reform Act of 1832 was the new Poor Law, which ruined the profession of pauperism, and set up as unsanguinary and unfanatical a social engine as the modern Board of Guardians. Further extensions of the franchise brought to light, to the astonishment of everybody except Disraeli,

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who foresaw it, the phenomenon of the Conservative working-man, and free education, though it has taught the people to read, has not yet done very much in the far more dangerous direction of teaching them to think.

It is, indeed, the characteristic of great reforms that they let down almost as many hopes as fears, and if we compiled a list of the things which have failed to ruin England, it would serve equally well for a list of the things which have failed to redeem her. The trade union is a distinguished example of this. It has done much, but has failed at once of final evil and of final good. It began as a seditious conspiracy, and ten hard years of Radical faith and work were needed to legalise it. Church and State still intact, the trade union turns up again at a later period of history as a menace, not this time to law and order, but to the shivering sanctity of capital. Again it figures as a bogey. It was the common talk of upper class Lancashire in the eighties and the early nineties that trade unions, no longer isolated clubs of crack-brained Chartists meeting in the upper rooms of public-houses, but powerful amalgamations, with trained



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leaders at their head, and funds in the bank, were rapidly making life intolerable; that they were driving capital out of the country, and that manufacturers would for two pence remove their machinery to some place (not specified) where they could be at peace, and do what they liked with their own. Men who had stood for Parliament as Liberals, and others who habitually stood as Liberals for Town Councils, and had strongly approved of the working-class being consulted as to whether Mr. Gladstone or Mr. Disraeli should be the Prime Minister a long way off in London, drew a very decided line against their being consulted as to whether wages should go up or down five per cent. in Lancashire, and whether a glut of yarn should be met by a complete stoppage or regulated short time; while a much-harassed Mayor of Rochdale, towards the end of the great strike of 1893, fell, and dragged all his audience with him, into the common philosophical blunder of blaming the agitator for the agitation.<sup>1</sup>

1. "It was a sad sight to witness the operatives begging in the streets of Rochdale. On him who was to blame for the present deplorable state of affairs rested a very great responsibility. He could not help feeling that that responsibility rested very largely on the shoulders of that man."—Report of a speech by the Mayor of Rochdale, *Manchester Guardian* March 18th, 1893. James Mawdesley, without hesitation, took these dark observations to himself, and made a spirited reply.

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So matters proceed, and then, Church and State and even Capital still intact, we look a little later into history and we find this same trade union, its methods and its objects quite unchanged, its funds still greater, and its leaders even stouter, counted definitely among the conservative forces of society. Leaders of industry, like Charles Macara, operating the negotiation clauses of the Brooklands Agreement, planning Industrial Councils as a final court of appeal between masters and men, assume and count on the trade unions as part of the mechanism of peace. It is within the scheme of their statesmanship. Their anxiety about the trade union is not that it should be too strong, but lest it be too weak. For already the law of flux and re-flux has followed it even to this, that while all have lost their fears of it, some have lost their hopes. The pure trade unionist is now the Conservative of the Labour movement. He is the old gang; the sedative rather than the stimulant. In the volatile and fiery composition of the annual conference of the Labour Party, the orthodox trade unionists, and particularly those who represent the textile unions of Lancashire, are a solid glutination of

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unenthusiastic common-sense, hardly distinguishable from a board of directors. But no longer in any sense *le dernier cri*! Already they are thought slow, and in the eyes of State Socialists, syndicalists, and those who strike against advice, the spectre of the eighties and the nineties is voted mainly sawdust. Such is the slow, sure progress of our state—from groundless fear to groundless fear; from the hope of a lot to the realisation of a little.

\* \* \* \* \*

From the breaking of the bale of cotton to the bleaching or printing of the completed cloth the Lancashire cotton trade travels many stages, but the major processes are those of blowing and carding, by which the raw product is redeemed of its original sin and the staple is evolved, and of spinning and of weaving, and we shall find that the protective organisation of the worker follows the technical outline of his trade, carding, spinning and weaving forming three large and assembled armed camps which co-operate on occasion, but are independent. The correspondence is nearly complete, but not quite. The ring-spinners, all of whom are women, are in the same association as their

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sisters of the card and blowing room, and the piecers, big piecers and little piecers, whose style and title is the most ultramontane thing in Lancashire, are organised separately under the tutelage of the mule spinners or minders.

The piecers, big and little, furnish the classical example of the failure of trade unionism to flourish in a soil which is short of a perfect class-consciousness and impoverished by social hopes and ambitions. Being paid by the minders, and therefore in the consciousness of the minders a hostile, or potentially hostile body, they are ineligible for full membership of the powerful Amalgamated Association of Operative Cotton Spinners, and would long ago have formed a trade union of their own, but for the circumstance that every big piecer of character and competence hopes to be in due time a minder himself, and lives in his probable future rather than his actual present. In the meantime he is included in a sort of sub-organisation which the minders keep carefully under their own control. He is the ward in chancery of the minder. The winders, warpers and reelers, another feminine community, are, again, out

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of their proper bearings. They belong to the hemisphere of spinning, but in weaving districts are organised with the weavers.

This, then, in its broadest outline is the ground plan of trade unionism in the cotton trade, and on this ground plan there grew up local associations of carders, of spinners and weavers, the unit being in each case that of locality *plus* craft. Organisation according to craft still, as we have just seen, continues, and though there is a pious opinion in favour of a single great trade union for all cotton workers,<sup>1</sup> difference of interest and outlook which has often been sharp and decided; difference in the rates of payment, and the mode, the majority being paid by piece and the minority by time; difference, perhaps, even of temperament between the mule spinners, who are olympians, and the cardroom hands, who are, not infrequently, Celts, has stood in the way of such a centralisation of authority. On the other hand, organisation according to locality, though it also persists, persists only as a

1. A resolution to this effect was passed in 1915 by the United Textile Factory Workers' Association (a deliberative body). One of several differences between the Spinners and the Card Room Workers arose as to the chairmanship of this body, to which the Card Room does not now belong.

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foundation on which great super-structures of federation are built up. It is no longer, like organisation by craft, an expression of the mentality of Lancashire; it is mechanical rather than spiritual.

The first great amalgamation of local unions was that of the operative spinners, which was formed in 1853, three years after the birth of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers which was the earliest model of the new type. The Amalgamated Society of Operative Cotton Spinners has its headquarters in Manchester. It is governed by its own quarterly meeting and Executive Council, and has its paid secretary, who is chosen by the unusual method of competitive examination, rhetoric and dialectics being the minor, and mathematics, in view of the extremely abstruse calculations by which Lancashire wages are ascertained, decidedly the major subject of the test. The parched and sandy arithmetic through which the cotton trade has to wade to its results, the necessity of fighting the battles of his people in decimals and fractions, the dense afforestation of the ground by technical and actuarial detail, has done more than anything else

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to determine the caste and character of the trade union leader in Lancashire. An expert and an accountant, he has not been called very much either to prophecy, apostleship or the speaking with tongues, and, unlike the checkweigh-man of the collier, with whom, though on a much higher level of accomplishment, he corresponds, and who is in nearly every case the trained athlete of the pulpit and the platform and the Band of Hope, he has given little to public and Parliamentary life.

James Mawdesley, the Secretary of the Spinners, and one of the strongest forces Lancashire has ever known, was definitely a man behind a mask. He was unfamiliar, almost even to sight, to the general citizenship of the small town in which he lived, and his candidature, as a Conservative, for Oldham, undertaken at an advanced age, was an enterprise in which he neither succeeded nor very much wanted to succeed.

More than forty district associations of spinners pay levies to the Amalgamation. These district associations reproduce in miniature the constitution of the central organism. They are identical with it chemically and structurally; they also possess their

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Executive Committees and their paid officials, and the Amalgamated Association, though it does not indicate this, and, indeed, rather obscures it in its name—"amalgamation" implying the fusion of several bodies into one, and the destruction of their individual identities—answers roughly the political tests of a Federation in which the constituent members enjoy the form and substance of self-government, but are united for common purposes against the world. That the structure of this important union was built up slowly, we see from the circumstance that the Oldham Association did not join the Amalgamation until it had been formed some fifteen years, and that for ten years longer there were within the Oldham province nine rudimentary district Associations, each governing itself, all competing together by exacting small contributions and paying large benefits, and thereby weakening the entire structure of which they were a part.<sup>1</sup>

This federal model of the spinners has been copied in the Amalgamated Association of Card and Blowing Room Operatives, which was formed

1. The weekly contribution of the individual spinner still varies according to the town in which he lives, but the differentiation is a scientific one.



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in 1886, and when we come to the weavers, we shall find that a rather lighter soil has favoured the appearance of federations of federations, a sort of straining after stature and strength which has not been necessary on the spinning side of the trade. The Amalgamated Weavers' Association, which is itself definitely a federation of district unions, is included in the Northern Counties Textile Trades' Federation, a body which was formed in 1905, and embraces, besides the Weavers' Society, several minor associations which operate in odd corners of the trade.<sup>1</sup>

These movements on the part of the operatives have not failed of the obvious answer from the side of the masters. Local associations of employers in the cotton trade are found operating in the sixties and the seventies. Taught by his experience in the strike at the Brunswick Mill, Charles Macara took the lead in forming an Association for Manchester, and towards the end of 1891 the greater number of

1. This body is not to be confused, though confusion would be natural, such is the love of the modern trade unionist for mouth-filling names, with the United Textile Factory Workers' Association. This body deals only with Parliament and Whitehall. It watches the Factory Acts, and suggests amendments. All operatives' associations belong to it, except that of the Card Room, and an attempt is being made to bring the Card Room back.

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those local bodies came together in the Federation of Master Cotton Spinners' Associations.<sup>1</sup> Each one retained its own office, officials and constitution, but a new body was now created, through which the employers could act as a single will and intelligence, the whole trade being able, by virtue of this federation, to sweep down to the assistance of any one employer whose case might be judged to be the case of all. In 1913 fourteen local associations situated in towns which are satellites of Manchester were embraced in the Federation. The Federation was, however, built up slowly to its present level. It hardly represented half the trade when it entered in 1892 upon the twenty weeks' struggle with the operatives, which ended in the famous industrial treaty known as the Brooklands Agreement.

It was this strike, and the momentous negotiations which ended it, that made Charles Macara a diplomat and statesman in the vexed affairs of capital and labour. He entered the prolonged struggle, which began in the autumn of 1892 and ended in the spring of 1893, as the head of one of the local

1. There is a separate employers' organisation for the North and North-Eastern area of the county in which weaving preponderates over spinning.

associations of employers. When it terminated, he was plainly marked out in the minds both of masters and men for the Presidency of the Federation, and the headship both in title and in fact of the Lancashire cotton trade.

It was at the end of October, 1892—the trade being at the time in a state of great irritability and depression—that the employers gave notice of their intention to enforce a reduction in wages of five per cent. Notices to this effect were posted in the mills, and when these notices matured, the operatives refused to continue at work, this progression of events giving rise to a question as to whether what followed was a strike or lock-out, a point which was argued in Lancashire during the next five months with the heat and tenacity which are generally reserved in human intercourse for points the settlement of which will leave things exactly as they were before. The dispute, however, soon widened and deepened into the much larger question of the right of the operatives to come, so to speak, of age; to be admitted into a kind of moral partnership in the industry; to have a mind, and, with a mind, the means of expressing, and, subject to the equal right of the

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other party in the trade, enforcing it. So far the dispute enlarged itself, but no further. It tells us very much of the mentality of Lancashire that during twenty weeks in which the pressure and pinch got steadily worse, so that hunger and nakedness were at last openly abroad in the land, no mass meetings were held, no torches lighted, and no attempt made to point the moral and adorn the tale in favour of Socialism or any other plan for the general reconstruction of society. From the beginning till the end it was cotton, and nothing else.

Still, a larger question than one of five per cent. or two-and-three-quarters per cent.—the reduction which the employers eventually obtained—was seen to be at issue, and there can be no doubt that from the time when this larger matter of the joint managership of the industry definitely emerged, Charles Macara became a strong fighter within his own party for wise and constructive compromise. Accident, rather than predestination, had brought him into this *mêlée*. He belonged by tradition and relationship to the governing classes of England, and though a Lancashire employer, was neither of

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the type, nor, still more to the crucial point which the industry had now reached, of the caste. He had discovered a real affinity with James Mawdesley, the practical and powerful leader of the operatives, and already his mind was strongly attracted to such a problem of social architecture as a compromise in this dispute would involve. He had the organising, settling mind, and cared just as little for civil war whether at the moment he won or lost. And these qualities which drove him to take a line of his own, and made him not only a name, but a force in the great events of 1892 and 1893, were powerfully assisted in their effect by an accident which put the management of the employers' case to some extent in his hands.

The President of the Masters' Federation was Arthur Reyner, who belonged to a family which had, in a former generation, migrated from haberdashery in the city of London to manufacturing in Lancashire. Arthur Reyner was himself a bachelor of uncertain health, and lived at Thornfield Hall near to Ashton-under-Lyne, with a mother whose strength and stateliness of spirit, coupled with extreme

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personal fragility, advanced years, and only occasional visibility through the bevelled glass of an ancient brougham, constituted her one of those occasional reproductions of Queen Victoria which appeared during the reign of that monarch, his life being one in which music, travel in Switzerland, Gladstonianism, a perilous habit, for one of his weight and build, of riding to hounds, and the current number of the *Nineteenth Century*, played a great part. In his speeches on the public platform great fluency of thought and expression struggled with anguish against a marked defect of utterance. He had Robert Lowe's inability to perceive the effect he was making on his audience, and his position as leader at once of a Liberal organisation which wanted all sorts of democratic changes, and an Employers' Federation which wanted a reduction of wages, was a vexatious inconsistency, and probably accounted very largely, though it was not suspected at the time, for the recurrent Conservatism of the borough in which he lived. Arthur Reyner's name is the first of the signatures to the Brooklands Agreement, but from time to time during the

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progress of the events which concluded in that treaty, he was incapacitated by illness. His leadership was interrupted, a considerable portion of it falling to Charles Macara, who shortly afterwards succeeded him in the leadership of the Federation. Mr. John Brown Tattersall, who had himself been an operative and a trade union leader, and possessed an unrivalled knowledge of the technicalities of the trade, and Samuel Smethurst, one of the thoroughbreds of Lancashire, a logician, a humourist, and a keen swordsman in debate, were also prominent on the employers' side. Among the operatives James Mawdesley was the central figure.

The Brooklands  
Agreement and the  
Industrial Council









## CHAPTER VI

### THE BROOKLANDS AGREEMENT.

THE twenty weeks' strike ranks in Lancashire history with the Cotton Famine some thirty years before it. It lasted long enough to clear the sky, and nearly long enough to clean the earth. Distant objects acquired that startling visibility which in South-east Lancashire usually signifies nothing more serious than "the wakes," and the operatives wandered up and down amid unfamiliar tracts of morning and afternoon, and were, for all their faith and fortitude, in the suspended and deeply disordered state of those who are all dressed up with nowhere to go. The last chapter of events was extremely tense and dramatic, and the leaders on both sides found themselves scrutinised like Cabinet Ministers in the throes of a crisis. More than one attempt was made to bring them all together in a social and even a domestic atmosphere, and to surprise peace out of sheer politeness.

One of these meetings was held at the house in Prestwich of Robert Ascroft, M.P., the solicitor

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for a section of the operatives, and afterwards Conservative member for Oldham, and though terms were discussed both before and after dinner, neither the one state of mind nor the other had a favourable result, the minority of the employers still holding out against the terms which ended the dispute six weeks later. Meanwhile the growing margin between raw cotton and yarn was arguing powerfully for peace. The glut in the yarn market, which was the original cause, or perhaps, rather, the occasion of these troubles, had been cured, and when the leaders, again eluding an almost morbidly watchful press, again got into conference, this time at the extremely unspiratorial Brooklands Hotel, on the Cheshire outskirts of Manchester, peace was in the air. Even so, it was only snatched, in the small hours of the morning of an all-night sitting, out of the jaws of failure.

It is significant that the mere rectification of wages was settled early and without great difficulty at this conference, which began at three in the afternoon on Thursday, March 23rd, 1893. The tendency of the market had settled that question itself, and a splitting of the difference between the

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two parties indicated itself as the fair thing. But the larger issue as between the employer and the trade union into which the smaller question had widened and deepened, gave more trouble. It was quite rightly perceived that other suggested terms of agreement which promoted the trade union far above the former status of recognition and make it a joint governing body of the trade, constituted the end of one age and the beginning of another. Several times in the course of the night capital and labour broke away to their separate camps in the Brooklands Hotel, but each time they were brought together again by Charles Macara and James Mawdesley, who had both begun to see that greater interests were at stake even than those which they severally represented, and were now acting together as a powerful party against the anarchy which threatened the existence at once of masters and men. It was at five o'clock in the morning of March 24th that their efforts prevailed, and the Brooklands Agreement, the first and greatest, and, indeed, the model of all treaties between capital and labour, was signed.<sup>1</sup>

1. Robert Ascroft, M.P., who acted as solicitor to the Card and Blowing Room Operatives' Amalgamation, and who drew up the

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The first clause is a common confession of sins and a promise of amendment. Both sides admitted the folly of continual disputation, and joined in a common prayer for some means of avoiding it. In this spirit the immediate difference was settled by a reduction in wages of sevenpence in the pound. A further clause established a kind of game law in the trade, a close time within which after each disturbance wages should remain at peace; a measure beyond which they should not vary. No question as to wages, once closed, was to be reopened for at least a year, and no alteration of wages, whether it took the form of a rise or a fall, was to measure more than five per cent.

These provisions were afterwards amended from time to time, but whatever their exact shape and scope, they continued to give a much-needed stability and repose to the weather of the trade. But the vital clause was the sixth. It was this clause which admitted, and, indeed, ushered the

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rough draft of the clauses, every one of which was discussed, modified and altered at conferences both before and at the all-night sitting, formally assured Charles Macara, that the operatives would never forget the effort he had made for an equitable settlement.

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organised operative into the seat of authority; which captured the pure protestantism of the trade union for a new catholicity; which took the pyramid off its apex and set it much more securely on its base. All this was contained in the provisions which were made by the sixth clause of the Brooklands Agreement for the settlement of disputes. They inaugurated a new reign of law.

The clause set up three courts—a court of first instance, and two successive courts of appeal, and provided that no disputes in the trade should go to the length of a lock-out by the employers, or a strike by the employed, until each of these tribunals had tried to settle it, and, having tried, had failed. The statesmanship of the plan lay in the removal of each promising bud of difference into two successive atmospheres progressively unfavourable to its vegetation. Under the scheme, any difference as to work or wages arising in a cotton mill and proving insoluble by the immediate parties to it, was to go before the secretary of the employers and the secretary of the trade union of the town in which it arose. This was the court of first instance, and if this court failed to settle the dispute,

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its duty was, within a given time, to call in three local employers and three local trade unionists who would examine the matter afresh. If this tribunal—the first court of appeal—failed to produce terms of settlement, the dispute may be conceived of as a thing of definite size and shape, and ready for the much severer ordeal known to the administrators of the trade as “going to Manchester.”

In the final court of appeal, which, like the one below it, was to be summoned within a stated time, the dispute passed out of the hands of the first participants and their immediate friends and relations; it was lifted out of the inflamed area, and brought before the brows and conscience of the assembled trade. This last court was larger than the one below it; like the one below it, it was composed of equal numbers of employers and employed, with the special provision that those who had already adjudicated on the case should be swamped in a majority of fresh minds. Not until this court also had dissolved without a favourable result could either side proceed to extremes, and so effectually did the mechanism work that in the twenty-one years

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during which the Brooklands Agreement remained law, there were only two general stoppages of the trade, one of them occurring in 1908, when the Agreement was sixteen, and the other in 1910, when it was eighteen years old.

Both these years belong to that period of acute industrial irritability which was only allayed by the counterirritant of the European War, and by this time much of the authority and some of the structure of the Brooklands Agreement had been corroded away. The stoppage in 1908, for example, was an outbreak of the inveterate sectionalism of the trade. In that year the employers claimed a reduction of wages, and obtained the assent of the operative spinners. The Card Room refused to agree, with the result that the spinners found themselves conscripted in a costly campaign of seven weeks to which their corporate will had not consented.<sup>1</sup>

The stoppage of 1910 immortalised the obscure personality of George Howe, who belongs to that company of historical personages of whom we catch

1. In this instance the employers very handsomely allowed the spinners to take back their formal agreement to the reduction. By this act the employers preserved the solidarity of the trade at their own expense.



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only one single glimpse. He is one of the flies in the amber of history. George Howe was dismissed from the Fern Mill at Oldham because, at the bidding of his union, he refused to perform certain duties which were held to be "new work." In the opinion of the employers, this raised the vital issue of internal authority in the mills, and though it was found easy enough to refer the immediate point to arbitration, another crack was opened in the surface by the question whether the cotton trade should start again with or without George Howe in his accustomed place as a grinder at the Fern Mill. In the result he was reinstated, not at the Fern Mill, but at another not noticeably further from his doorstep, and, on this compromise, the trade of Lancashire proceeded on its way. The strike has its place in Lancashire history as the first occasion on which the cotton trade submitted to the manipulations of a Government official.<sup>1</sup> Even so, the duty of the peace-maker did not go beyond patiently and perpetually leading the horse to the water of reconciliation. It drank finally of its own free will.<sup>2</sup>

1. Sir George Askwith, then Controller of the Labour Department at the Board of Trade.

2. This dispute also brought about a stoppage of the industry, but only for a few days.

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These were the only two occasions between the negotiation of the Brooklands Agreement on March 23rd, 1893, and its repudiation on January 31st, 1913, on which the parties to the Agreement proceeded to actual civil war. Its failure, in the opinion of the operative spinners, to settle with sufficient promptitude disputes arising out of the supply of bad material for their work—"bad spinning," a cause of grievance which has been ingeniously compared with that of the Hebrew brick-makers in Egypt who were required to make bricks without straw—was the cause of its final cancellation, but the apparatus of conciliation was expressly preserved, an agreement being ratified on December 11th, 1914, that notices to cease work should not be posted in any mill till the matter in dispute had been considered by the joint committee, local and central, of the organised employers and the organised employed.

The Brooklands Agreement and Charles Macara's presidency of the Employers' Federation are coeval in the history of the Lancashire cotton trade. His long and eventful period of office began in 1894, the year after the agreement was signed, and before

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the conciliation clauses had yet been put to any trial, and concluded in the year after its repudiation. During this period of twenty-one years he was unanimously voted into the chair at every conference between employers and employed, in what we have called the final court of appeal of the trade. The cotton trade, whether masters or men, preferred him in that capacity to any outsider on this side of mortality, for, besides that cotton has a strong prejudice against the stranger that is without its gates, all outsiders, even the most eminent K.C.'s who have drifted at one time and another into the affairs of the trade, have been visibly nigh to foundering and going down altogether in the sheer stress of incomprehensible details. He was, too, the born chairman of heated and momentous debate. In another sphere of cotton trade administration he was called on time after time to preside over international conferences which, but for his authoritative physique, resonant voice, and power of assuming a complete impartiality in affairs in which he had himself an interest, as they swayed this way or that, would have degenerated at moments of excitement into mere babel, and

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these same qualities were an immense help to the cause of industrial peace in Lancashire, over many critical years.

It was estimated in 1910—when the Brooklands Agreement was seventeen years old—that against one reduction of five per cent.—secured by the employers in 1908—the operatives generally had thriven under its patronage, and the employers had equally benefited by the great reduction in the number of strikes and lock-outs. But in his long experimental administration of the Agreement Charles Macara came to perceive its sins, and more particularly its shortcomings, and began to look beyond it to something larger which would cover all coverable contingencies in the vexed affairs of masters and men. For one thing, the clause in the agreement which closed all questions of wages for a definite period after each re-opening had been found to work both ways. The express “Thou shalt not” was found to reveal itself as a sort of implied “Thou shalt” the moment the prohibition lifted. As it is apt to do in all law-giving, the definite illegalisation of one thing implied the authorisation of something else, and, by limiting

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the frequency and extent of wage fluctuations, the Agreement offered a strong temptation to the disturbance or attempted disturbance of rates whenever the opportunity came round.<sup>1</sup>

Although, as we have seen, the parties to the Agreement only twice within the period under review came to a full stop, grave crises had the periodicity and punctuality of comets.

But it was not so much the sins of the Brooklands Agreement, as its definite shortcomings, that exercised Charles Macara's mind. He began to see more and more clearly that the Agreement failed the trade just at the moment when it was most needed. It accompanied the trade faithfully to the brink of disaster, interposing a number of invaluable regulations and checks on the method and speed of getting there, but, the brink once reached, it left the trade to its fate. It was all very well to compel the two parties into conferences intermediate and final, to put them into a room and turn the key on them, but how, if after all this management, they still refused to agree; how if, to

1. In 1910 the period within which wages could not be disturbed was altered from one year to two years. At the same time a demand for a five per cent. reduction being then withdrawn, a bargain was made that there should be no demand for an advance or reduction for five years.

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use again the metaphor we employed a minute ago, the horse, though repeatedly led to the water, still refused to drink? There was no means of resolving the situation after it had reached the stage of deadlock. Arbitration was never acceptable to either party in the trade, or, rather, it was never acceptable to both parties at the same time. Having in 1897 got the entire employing class into line, in a dispute which was pending at the moment, and recoiling from the use of the tremendous power over the life of Lancashire which such a state of things placed in his hands, Charles Macara offered settlement by arbitration, but the proposal was wrecked on a reef of minor issues. Accordingly he turned his attention to an ingenious scheme of impersonal and self-acting arbitration, or arbitration, as he himself called it, without an arbitrator.

In 1899 and 1900 many conferences were held in the cotton trade on a scheme for the regulation of wages according to the state of trade. At this time it was part of the scheme that the operatives should supply their own estimate of trade profits, and the plan came to grief on the refusal of the operatives to submit their estimates to impartial investigation.

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Five years later—in 1905—the scheme was revived, with the benefit this time of an ingenious method of ascertaining the normal return on capital in the cotton trade at any given time. A small committee of the Liverpool Cotton Association was appointed to decide twice a week, and week by week, the exact market values of standard grades of raw cotton, and to communicate these values to a firm of chartered accountants in Manchester. A firm of yarn agents in Manchester was engaged to send to the same firm of accountants the exact market prices of standard counts of yarn on the same days in each week. The accountants, on receiving the two sets of figures—each set supplied without missionary purpose, and in the spirit of cold scientific truth—would have before them, and would be able to tabulate for use in the event of a dispute as to wages, the gross economic margin week by week between the raw material and the finished product of the spinning trade, and, in order that truth might be still more delicately sifted, two firms of accountants, one acting for the employers and the other for the operatives, were appointed to examine the tabulation in the light of actual experience at selected mills.

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This scheme, founded on the co-operation of so many sets of independent experts, has only been called into employment to settle matters of emergency during the war, but the record at the time of writing is still being made, employers and employed both paying for the continuance of the process, and Charles Macara regards these figures, locked as they are in the security of a Manchester safe, as almost the best legacy he has helped to provide for the trade.

Such, then, were the earlier designs for adding walls and a roof to the arrested structure of the Brooklands Agreement. One of them, built into the original plan of the Agreement in 1911, was a small but ingenious expression of the constructive spirit. This was the arrangement proposed and agreed to in that year for keeping the mechanism of conciliation running even after it had failed in the immediate object with which it had been set in motion. It became the enacted law of the trade that when the leaders of the two parties had parted and gone their ways on a final disagreement, and a stoppage had accordingly begun, the plenipotentiaries should, within a fortnight of the beginning of actual war,



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meet again at the same hour and place—a curiously sentimental piece of precision such as we might expect from two lovers who have parted, but do not really mean it—and at intervals for as long as the trouble lasted, should continue to meet, always at the same hour and place until no doubt one or other, or both, broke down under the sheer pathos of the situation.

The year in which the cotton trade bound itself by this new regulation belongs to the period of what was called, because it spread so far and so fast, and was carried from one fertilisation to another on the wings of sympathy and imitation, by the name of “industrial unrest”—a new name for a phenomenon which was felt to be essentially new. By strikes which spread rapidly in 1911 from seamen to dockers, from dockers to carters, and from carters to railwaymen—every stage in the vital function of transport being successively affected—the motor nerves and muscles of the country were paralysed; in the coal strike which followed, energy was cut off, and social and industrial England went cold. The country was made to realise that services every bit as vital as defence by land and sea were

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liable to be stopped because a few thousand workmen could not agree with a few hundred employers about a shilling.

The great Third Party to these continual industrial disputes began to emerge. Even politics were put on one side, and "intervening," another new thing in English public life, under another new name, brought fresh and grateful chances of lime-light into the thirsty lives of pushful politicians. For years Charles Macara had been pointing to what he called the interdependence of industries. During the twenty weeks' strike, nineteen years before the period at which we are now arrived, letters written to him as one of the protagonists whose names were occurring in the newspapers, reflected the effect of short commons in Lancashire on the farms and market-gardens of the most distant shires of England and Ireland. In 1911 the nail needed no hammering. Even London, which does not as a rule think—even London, threatened by a dock strike with semi-starvation by day and total darkness by night, realised dimly that it was a member of one body having several members, and Lancashire, with its raw material

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piling higher and higher in Liverpool, and its spindles running down like unwound watches, needed no convincing at all.<sup>1</sup>

The social unrest of 1911 and 1912 is now dwarfed by the European War, which immediately succeeded it in the programme of England's modern troubles. We look at it now, so to speak through the wrong end of a telescope, but at the time it sounded and felt like upheaval, and it was while it was still proceeding—a moment highly favourable for one who had anything more to contribute than the rending of garments and the wringing of hands—that Charles Macara came forward with the complete plan of an Industrial Council<sup>2</sup> and succeeded by dint of energy and persistence, in adding it, temporarily, to the institutions, and permanently to the ideas of England.

Ever since 1908 the Board of Trade, authorised

1. "Truth to tell, Londoners had something more intimate, more urgent, to think about (than the Parliament Bill). They were informed on good authority, and even that lacking, their own commonsense was informant authoritative enough, that, given a few more days' continuance of the deadlock, and semi-starvation would be installed among some seven millions of people; semi-starvation, and, in all human probability, something else, and perhaps something worse than that. The stoppage of the coal supply involved the stoppage of the water supply, of the supply of gas and electricity. It meant London in darkness."—Extract from the *Sunday Chronicle*, August 20th, 1911.

2. *Vide* Appendix E, p. 253 *et seq.*

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by the Conciliation Act of 1896, had been dabbling in industrial disputes. It was willing to hold inquiries, appoint arbitrators, frame agreements, and generally to mother the contending parties into a better frame of mind in all cases wherein these services were invited. But the work was carried out under the supervision of the political head of the Board, and was suspected of the party spirit. Charles Macara's plan was the creation of a department *ad hoc*—a court for the hearing of industrial cases which should be as independent of the political executive as the Chancery Division or the King's Bench. For the headship of this body he proposed the appointment of an official, whom in his earlier expositions of the scheme he called an "Industrial Judge," and this functionary was to have his permanent staff, and the service of an Advisory Council, composed of an equal number of the leaders of capital and labour, this Council either to furnish experts for the hearing of causes, or to sit in grand assembly, according to the nature and magnitude of the call upon its services. These cardinal virtues—independence of party and just composition of the body as between employers and

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employed—being made sure, there remained the much more difficult question of the powers of the Council. Was the Council to be clothed with any powers of compulsion? Was it to have the right of entry upon any industrial dispute? Was it, once entered either by right or invitation, to have the power of enforcing its decisions? On this latter point there was neither doubt, nor room for doubt. The crack of the whip was not to be thought of. The legal enforcement of awards is one thing in New Zealand, where the number of workmen in a dispute seldom exceeds a few hundreds, and quite another thing in England, where in conceivable cases the malefactors might approach a quarter of a million, a mouthful from which the jaws and appetite of the ordinary criminal law would recoil.<sup>1</sup>

There was a rather stronger case for compulsion at the other end of the process. Vast armies of workmen could not be compelled, short of something like civil war, to obey the verdict of an Industrial Court. Could they, on the other hand, be

1. "Nobody knowing what it means enters upon a strike lightly, but just as certainly no trade unionist can think of giving up the right to leave work if he believes there is a just call to do so."—Mr. WILLIAM MULLIN, Presidential Address to the Trade Union Congress, 1911.

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compelled to listen to an Industrial Court? On this point Charles Macara was pulled this way and that. The Canadian plan of operations was to preserve intact the right to strike, provided that the strikers had first submitted to all the forms of arbitration, and the right of the employer to lock out his men was made subject to the same condition. Every dispute was, on the motion of either party, to be brought, with its full array of witnesses and documents, before the Board of Conciliation and Investigation. Until this Board had formed and expressed its opinion, the right to proceed to a lock-out or a strike remained dormant, but awoke again when the Board issued an award to which both parties could not, or would not agree. A bill framed on the Canadian model was offered to the judgment of the country by the English Labour Party about the same time as Charles Macara's plan. By this Bill the Arbitration Court which it proposed to set up was given the right to hear and adjudicate, and both parties were preserved in the right to fight if the finding was not satisfactory.

Charles Macara would not hear of compulsion at

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either end of the process. He was aiming at the creation of a great moral force, and he declined to compromise it with the questionable company of physical coercion more capable of being threatened than applied. The Industrial Council which he asked the Government to set up would be impartially composed of capital and labour, and would be known by its name and habitation to all men. Each industry which had its own judicial system would retain it in full working order. The Industrial Council would be there to act when the trade in which any given dispute had arisen had exhausted the means of grace. Its entrance would be a further use of the patent device of the Brooklands Agreement—the removal of the dispute out of the hands of those who started it. The Council was, in fact, the completion, body and soul, of the Brooklands Agreement; and it was to act only by the consent of both parties. It was to have the imperious authority of those who do but stand at the gate and knock. It was to be a moral force; the delimitation on the map of a new pale of civilisation. No group, whether of masters or men—so his argument ran—would care to face the great



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Third Party after a refusal to carry their case before a court in which their friends numbered as many as their foes, while any group—whether of masters or men again—which persisted in its course after the Council had declared against it, would be outlawed—proscribed ! pilloried !

Charles Macara introduced his scheme to England in a letter to the Lord Mayor of Manchester (Mr. Charles Behrens<sup>1</sup>) on July 10th, 1911. In the course of this letter he informed the Lord Mayor that the scheme was the result of some years' thought and experience. The measure had long been ready in his mind ; the moment for submitting it to the country had come in this summer of industrial anarchy. As the practical scheme of a practical man, it immediately caught the public eye, while a certain constructiveness which was in it gained it much attention in the studies of social thinkers. It was a sort of Hague Convention, set up, not in international but in industrial affairs—a much more hopeful atmosphere, because while a

1. Afterwards Sir Charles Behrens. His Lord Mayoralty was distinguished for its successful avoidance of the use of the military arm in Manchester at a time when other centres of unrest were employing it freely.



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strong nation can defy international law and live piratically, no body of masters or men in the country could long support the moral and physical horrors of outlawry. And so, while the *Manchester Guardian* referred to Charles Macara's "almost unequalled experience in the conduct of difficult disputes in the cotton industry" and found in the scheme "the germ of a great and valuable reform," the *Yorkshire Post*—the two voices representing the call of deep unto deep—welcomed it strongly, albeit without much hope, as a possible check upon the world's rapid progress to the dogs.<sup>1</sup>

The scheme was further advertised in the House of Commons by a question by Mr. George N. Barnes, M.P., which drew from the Prime Minister, Mr. Asquith, the announcement that the Government would consider the establishment of an Industrial Council on Charles Macara's model if it could be shown to have behind it the right quantity and quality of support. Thus challenged, Charles Macara proceeded to agitate the country. Support

1. The *Yorkshire Post* pointed out that the scheme would in no way interfere with the full working of the 262 permanent Boards of Joint Committees already settling disputes in various trades. Of these, 153 were already possessed of automatic machinery for dealing with deadlocks.

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was invited and readily obtained from the overwrought mayoral parlours of England. Many great capitalists signified their assent, and much support came from the Labour Party, the scheme harmonising at once with the larger constructive intentions of Labour doctrinaires and the opportunism of old trade unionists. Charles Macara weighed in himself with an article in the *Financial Review of Reviews*,<sup>1</sup> which is interesting for the complete conversion it notates to collective bargaining between employers and employed. The trade union is no longer the pestilence, but the postulate of ordered society. It is to be static as well as dynamic, and passages occur in this article which point clearly to the co-operation of labour in the general control of industry, a principle he had often acted upon informally in Lancashire. There was a clause in the Brooklands Agreement recommending joint action by employers and employed in all matters which either threatened evil or promised good to the trade at large. The clause died in the letter, but Charles Macara acted constantly on its principle, and during his presidency of the Federation he frequently

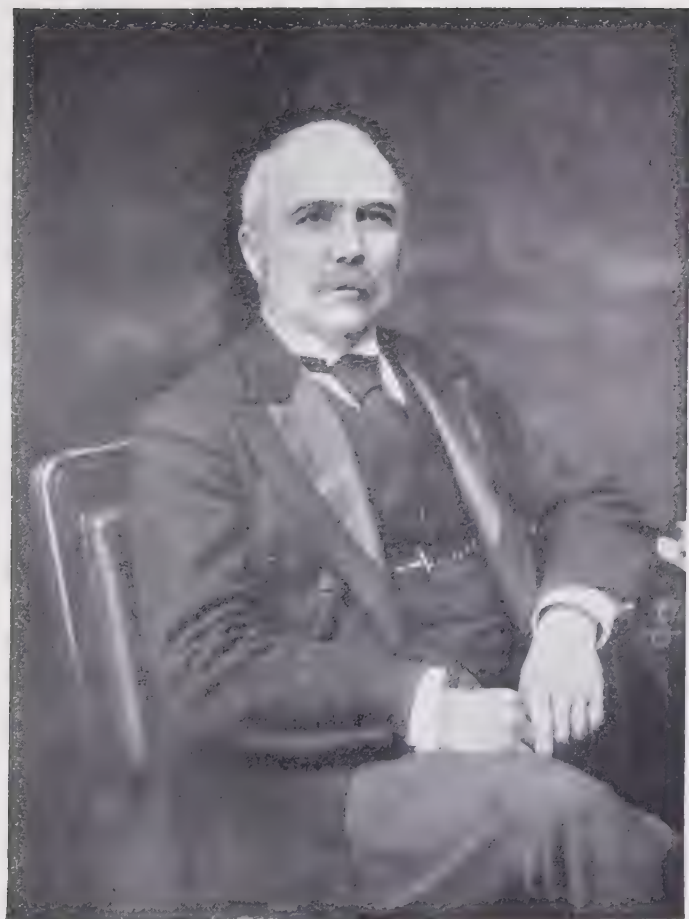
1. October, 1911.

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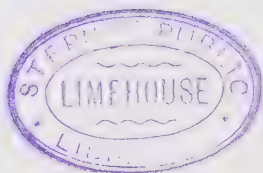
addressed meetings of the assembled trade and inaugurated great philanthropic movements for the benefit of Lancashire with one trade union leader at his right hand and another at his left. He now called upon labour definitely to cross the floor and join in the government of industry, thereby anticipating curiously 'a scheme which, as we shall see in a moment, was put forward as a part of the social reconstruction to follow the War.

Shortly after the publication of this article the Industrial Council was established,<sup>1</sup> the Board of Trade notifying its formation on October 10th, 1911. The scheme was borrowed without amendment, the passages in which the Council's duties were limited, no less than those in which they were defined, being taken almost verbally from his published advocacy of the scheme. Each point which he had made in the press was merely underlined in the official memorandum which introduced the Council to the world—the adverse effect of industrial war upon the general public; the necessity of encouraging and fostering such voluntary methods of conciliation as were already in force; the necessity

1. *Vide* Appendix E, p. 267 *et seq.*



SIR HENRY CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN.



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of adding to these some means of releasing the condition of dead-lock; the decision against legal power either, as in Canada, to hear, or, as in Australia, to bind. Charles Macara was among the thirteen great employers appointed by the same instrument to balance an equal number of eminent trade unionists. The Government did not over-acknowledge its rather staggering indebtedness to the author of the scheme, but the author of the scheme had got his way, and was momentarily content.<sup>1</sup>

But only momentarily! The subsequent history of the Council is little more than a chapter in social waste. It is possible that the Council excited the jealousy of the purely political mind; that the tendency of some of the staple trades to close like oysters against the touch of the outside hand was against it from another side. It held, at the request of the Government, a long and interesting inquiry into the growing industrial lawlessness of the times, but in the great strikes which came after its establish-

1. Sir George Askwith, B.C., K.C.B., who was then Comptroller General of the Labour Department of the Board of Trade, was appointed Chairman of the Industrial Council, with the title of Chief Industrial Commissioner.

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ment—the last of a long series—it was very little employed; in the coal strike of 1912 only intermittently; in a dispute in the cotton trade—a very favourable occasion for its services, since it raised the important industrial question of the use of unorganised labour—not at all. The outbreak of the European War in 1914 rolled up the map of English institutions, but Charles Macara held that a state of war, so far from stultifying the Industrial Council, should have been its accepted day. Its twenty-six members represented the capital and labour employed in all the great staple industries; it was a collection around one table, not too large, of the practised brains and hands of organisation, and in a series of strong memorials to the Government and letters to the press<sup>1</sup> he urged that it should be employed in the mobilisation of industry which

1. When the war broke out there was in existence in England an Industrial Council. It was appointed by the Government in 1911 to deal in a broad spirit, and with a strong hand, with disputes between Capital and Labour. It was equally representative of Capital and Labour; it had the whole industrial system of England under its eye, all the industrial practice and custom of England at its finger tips. At the moment the war broke out the industrial mobilisation of England was necessary and even vital—as necessary and as vital as the mobilisation of an expeditionary

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was, in his own words, "a part of the vital strategy of war." It was the voice of one crying in a wilderness of improvised Government offices; of machines constructed on a vast scale and at an enormous expense to pick up pins; of acreages of wooden shanties, erected, painted, plumbed and furnished *ad hoc*.

Ideas, however, do not die so easily, and three years after the beginning of the War—in 1917—the collective direction of industry by the whole body of workers engaged in it, which was at the root of Charles Macara's proposal in 1911, was recommended by a Government Committee of Enquiry as the line which industrial progress must take after the War. In recommending the formation of National Industrial Councils for all the highly-organised industries, with District Councils and Works Committees filling up a scheme of moral partnership between capital and labour, the Whitley Committee was

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force. The Industrial Council was there, a perfect engine of organisation, every part in working order, capable, within a few hours, of getting up the steam pressure for war. It was not used. (*Sunday Times*, April 19, 1917.)



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saying an almost exact ditto to what was either stated or implied in Charles Macara's agitation in the summer of 1911. It was his fate, as an industrial organiser, to be a little ahead of his times.

# Internationalism

International Cotton Federation.  
International Institute of Agriculture.







## CHAPTER VII

### INTERNATIONALISM.

AMONG the great industries of England the cotton trade, second only to primordial agriculture in its importance and the mass of human life which it sustains, is an exotic. It has not grown of its own roots, but has been grafted. It is not spontaneous like ships and seafaring, nor is it like the industries of coal and iron and wheat, and even the sister industry of wool, the turning of man to his mother earth so that in the sweat of his brow he may eat bread. It is the supreme accident of English economic history; the great departure. To account for cotton as an English craft at all, to account for it as the second in size and importance of all the English crafts, we go neither to the land of England nor to the waters that are about the land.<sup>1</sup> Not one particle of its raw material could possibly be grown in an English summer; its finished product is not recommended for the English winter, and in juxtaposition to the human frame is frowned upon

1. *Vide* Appendix A, p. 191 *et seq.*, "Cotton: its Early History."

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definitely in proverbial wisdom for all seasons of the English year. Situated in about the bleakest and wettest diocese of evangelical England; inextricably entangled in Wesleyan circuits; lodged in the smooth enfoldments of hills that go up with a shout of pulpit oratory and Sunday School cantatas, the trade of Lancashire yet ministers in the intimate necessity of calico to all the idolatries of earth; springing out of rectangular streets of brick or stone, which twinkle with the brass tablets of the Refuge and the Prudential, and are harsh with clogs and early rising; blackening a sky which was already grey, its dealings are with the lotus lands of East and West, and those who swoon in the sun. It trades under foreign flags; under strange gods.

Manchester cannot even in imagination follow the tremendous and awful destination of Manchester goods. They lie out on sun-blistered quays, and are carried by rivers into forest twilights; they are heaped in bazaars and round the feet of minarets, and from these emporiums they pass on to unfathomable domestic mysteries behind high white walls; they travel on the backs of camels, and are worn by philosophers at the mouths of tents; they

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stream from the shoulders of fierce horsemen, and go with the pitcher down the steps of the well. Lancashire exists by the tropics and the sub-tropics. The weaver who flourishes her washleather in John Bright Street on Friday night, and calls "James 'Enry" home out of the piercing draught, and the overlooker who "has his tea and washes 'im," always in that order and chronology, and proceeds to the choir practice, where they will rehearse the Whitsuntide hymns, are represented by time and piece in the hangings of Arabian nights. The bitterest memory of John Bright Street is a war for the liberation of oleographic slaves, and even the haughty and intolerant province of Oldham, which treads on a new fashion as Rome used to tread on a new thought, and only removes its hat for the National Anthem or the funeral of a Major in the Territorials if it thinks no one is looking, is inextricably involved for its daily bread with people who do not scruple to cry Allah, and to prostrate themselves publicly upon their faces.

This state of affairs can be demonstrated by statistics. Lancashire buys and brings three thousand miles across the Atlantic one-fifth of the

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cotton crop of the Southern States<sup>1</sup>; she brings from the Mediterranean mainly for the more eclectic trade of Manchester and Bolton about one-half of the longer stapled crop of Egypt;<sup>2</sup> she spins and weaves and dyes and prints it; she keeps about one-quarter of the final product for the English market, and sends the rest, representing about one-third of the total exports of English manufactures, abroad. Since the greater part of the raw material comes from America, and the greater part of the finished product is sold in India and China, the fabric passes through the fingers of Manchester on a journey almost completely across the world. It is not one of the native arts of England, like the building of ships and the breeding of horses, but England's greatest artifice; a gigantic and incredible technique. For, not only does Lancashire clothe the inhabitants of one tropic with a fabric which has grown in the other, but she does a considerable trade in her finer goods with European countries which have cotton spinning industries of their own, and a noticeable amount of the crop which was grown

1. *Vide* Appendix B, p. 209 *et seq.*, Address at Atlanta, Georgia, U.S.A., 1907.

2. *Vide* Appendix C, p. 222 *et seq.*, Address at Alexandria, Egypt, 1912.

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in America goes back again across the Atlantic, and finds its way once more into America round an adverse tariff of sixty per cent. It is like the piano, or an eye for the fast balls at cricket, and just as these things, if they are consummate, will turn the course of a man's career, and carry him wide of his pre-ordained destiny in the counting house or the shop, so cotton has shaped and determined the history of England. England has *thought* cotton.

Men have risen up from time to time, and have sworn in their hearts that the English market should belong to English men, and behold there was Lancashire, compromised hopelessly with half the attractive strangers of earth, and unable to sell to them, or, at any rate, to obtain payment for what she sold, unless they in their turn sold to us. The idea of a self-contained island died in course of time, and reappeared in the dream of a self-contained Empire, and again Lancashire, with a population larger than Scotland or Ireland or Australia, has been got into the scheme with about as much painful contrivance and discomfort as it cost the Mad Hatter and the March Hare to insert the dormouse in the tea-pot.<sup>1</sup>

1. "Greater Manchester" alone is twice as great in population as New Zealand.



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Even the considerable amount of manufactured cotton which comes into England is found on examination to be largely composed of small goods to which Lancashire herself has applied the first and most profitable processes. It is an industry which refuses to climb upon the knees of England and be nursed, and all the rest of the country has had to live up to its spirit, just as a whole family has to inure itself to open windows because there is a consumptive in the house. Consequently, men have been known to turn upon the cotton trade and deny it the name of English. They have sworn in their wrath that it is an excrescence; a bad habit; that South-east Lancashire is not national in the sense in which Lincolnshire and Wessex and Oxford and Salisbury, and even Liverpool and the Potteries, may be allowed to be national.

Neither, indeed, is it! Like Palestine, Lancashire belongs to everybody. It is a part of human experience; the messianic corner of earth in which the new world was announced; the region in which steam and mechanism first happened to man.<sup>1</sup> And the cotton trade, being chosen and dedicated for this great

1. "What Art was to the ancient world, Science is to the modern; the distinctive faculty. In the minds of men the useful

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revelation, and having indeed a mission to England which succeeded, and a mission to the world which has so far failed, always abounded in definite dogmatic teaching. If it was not actually born of a new theory of life and politics, a new theory was certainly necessary to its growth. It had to argue England out of being an island; to plant a more prosaic and temperate conception of the foreigner as a customer in disguise, and to spread the belief, still not universally held, that customers are on the whole more desirable when they have much to offer in exchange than when only little; to clear away out of our own system tons of mediæval *debris*. It over-did its mission, as all good missionaries do. Knowing no municipal government except that of the parish beadle, and no national government except that of landlords in one House and their nominees in the other, it was almost totally destitute of the Greek conception of the State, and

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has succeeded to the beautiful. Instead of the city of the Violet Crown, a Lancashire village has expanded into a mighty region of factories and warehouses. Yet, rightly understood, Manchester is as great a human exploit as Athens. The inhabitants, indeed, are not so impressed with their idiosyncrasy as the countrymen of Pericles and Phidias. They do not fully comprehend the position which they occupy. It is the philosopher alone who can conceive the grandeur of Manchester and the immensity of its future."—BENJAMIN DISRAELI in "Coningsby," 1844.

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though Cobden was himself an Alderman, the no less Greek conception of the city, and the low and ill-bred gait of one Manchester street into another, the furtive shambling of Blackfriars Street from Salford into Manchester, as though it would do anything in the world but get there, being now incurable, will last for ever, as a lesson against the awful consequences of the Manchester theory of letting everybody do as he likes—one of those sermons in stones of which the world is full to those who have ears and eyes. It miscalculated badly the future of the British Empire and its zeal for freedom of contract led the country into the unforgettable morass of the early factory system.

On the other hand, the charge against the Manchester School that it cared for nothing but material progress is untrue, and is refuted by its splendid and rather pathetic belief in self-education and self-improvement—exhibiting itself in a rich crop of Mechanics' Institutes—and its famous refusal to be coerced, even by ruin and starvation, into siding against President Lincoln and the North.<sup>1</sup> It gave

1. "He had begun life with the idea that the great manufacturers and merchants of England should aspire to that high directing position which had raised the Medici. . . to a level with the sovereign princes of the earth. Through all his public course Cobden did his best to moralise this great class."—"The Life of Richard Cobden" by Lord MORLEY.

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to English history the heroic story of the Anti-Corn Law League, and it enriched the genius of England with Cobden's almost lyrical logic and the pure and noble eloquence of Bright. Its international sentiment, though still denied with strong drink and raving, is a thing to which the children of men will yet come. The best praise of the Manchester School is that it had to be, in order that other things might come after it, and that all social building in the future will have to be laid on the work which it did in its own time among English institutions and in the English mind.<sup>1</sup>

\* \* \* \* \*

In this significant community of Lancashire Charles Macara has an historic place. He is in

1. Much interest was taken by England in 1916 in the defeat of the Free Trade party in the Manchester Chamber of Commerce. Shortly after this incident, the Indian Government imposed a protective duty on Lancashire goods entering India, a liberty which England could only disallow to India on the condition of remaining a Free Trade country herself. The newly-elected directors of the Chamber, though remaining in favour of Protection as a theory, objected to this example of it as a practice, and headed a great deputation of the cotton trade, which went to the India Office to be heard against it. This protest by the new directors against receiving a small instalment of their own policy is an incident to which no parallel could be found in the life of Alderman Cobden who brought about the original conversion of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce to Free Trade.

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the apostolic succession of Manchester men, and we might almost say that the twenty-one years in which he was at the head of the organised cotton employers was not only his reign but—and it is a much rarer phenomenon in history—his epoch and his age. We have seen what a large share he had in shaping over many critical years the relations between employers and employed, but the labour question was only one of a company of questions which had closed in upon the trade. They were not the questions which had troubled the early days of Manchester. The landscape had completely changed. Classical Manchester had a virtual monopoly in cotton manufactured goods. All the world was at its feet, if it could only get its feet free. To the “Manchester School” this universe presented itself as divided sharply between England vibrant with machinery on the one hand, and all the other countries of the world teeming with food and raw material on the other, and the problem was to bring about such an opening of gates that the things which England made could be exchanged for the things which other communities grew. The

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circumstance that we could not enforce the opening of their gates was no reason why we should not open ours. Once admit the grown produce of the foreigner into England, and it followed—unless, indeed, the foreigner was a philanthropist and also a fool—that he must take in exchange for it the product of English machines, and the fact that he allowed his government to intercept a portion of his just price was his affair, and not ours. This was the proposition which Lancashire had to prove in order that it might grow.

In Charles Macara's day the problems which encircled the trade were quite different. The ailment of Lancashire was not so much the growing pains of youth, as something very like the gout of mature age, and in the few years which preceded the opening of the Manchester Ship Canal there were slight but unmistakeable symptoms of early senile decay. It was common knowledge among the men who spread themselves in Daniel Adamson's drawing-room on June 27th, 1882, and began the superhuman struggle for the Canal, that Lancashire was stationary like Spain. Liverpool was chiefly blamed for it. Liverpool, and the railways which

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served to and from Liverpool, were said to be slowly strangling the trade of South-east Lancashire.

But there were deeper troubles even than this. The great bulk of the world's raw cotton comes from America, India and Egypt. There are wide differences between the several crops of these three countries, the product of the first serving one set of manufacturing processes, that of the second another set, and that of the third yet another.<sup>1</sup> These are the three main vertical divisions of the world's crop, and the horizontal divisions cutting across them, and distinguishing one part of the same crop from another part of it are few in number, fixed and precise. All raw cotton falls instantly into its classification, and the result of this was that the market for raw cotton, turning on its own axis year by year, unperturbed like the soap market, for example, or even its own relative, the cloth market, or any other market which is in contact with the incalculable humours of the consuming laity, by changes of fashion, and the birth and death of new ideas, had developed habits of its own, and a strong and

1. The Lancashire cotton trade, for example, makes very little use of Indian cotton, which is well suited to continental spinning. The Egyptian crop, on the other hand, is extremely serviceable and, indeed, indispensable to the fine spinning of Manchester and Bolton.

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complicated bodily structure which was largely independent of the productive trade which it existed to serve.

Nor was this all. Lancashire had been content to depend very largely for her raw cotton on the United states. In the age to which we have now come America, with more than 30,000,000 spindles of her own, was using every year more and more of her cotton crop, and it was beginning to be a question whether the world's consumption of calico, the extent of which can be dimly appreciated when we reflect that what fur is to Petrograd in winter, calico is to the fabulous millions of Asia and Africa nearly all the year round—climatic, characteristic—was not getting beyond anything which the cotton fields of earth could supply. These were among the problems which Charles Macara helped Lancashire to meet. It was he who largely incorporated the Lancashire cotton industry, and went a considerable way towards incorporating the cotton industry of the world. He gave Lancashire new organisations; still more to the point, he helped to give her the spirit and the habit of organisation.



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The opening of the Ship Canal was the re-birth of Manchester. It stopped, and, indeed, turned into the opposite direction the migration of engineers, chemical manufacturers, and all their tribe and kindred, from Manchester to the Clyde and the Tyne. It made Manchester the greatest engineering city in the world; it Americanised Trafford Park. But it did not immediately make its mark on the cotton trade. Seventeen days after it was opened—on January 27th, 1894—the first cargo of cotton sailed processionally into Manchester from the United States, and thirty-one cargoes—twenty from Egypt and eleven from the United States—had arrived when the Canal was fifteen months old. But this progress, though it did not stop, did not accelerate. Many spinners and spinners' managers were unable to break themselves of the Liverpool habit which had an enjoyable social aspect, and the forces which had been actively against the Canal fell back after defeat upon passive resistance, the Liverpool Cotton Association solemnly excommunicating all unappropriated and still unbought raw cotton lying in Manchester.<sup>1</sup> Manchester might be a

1. The exact process was to make cotton lying in Manchester untenderable against contracts for future delivery.

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channel, but Liverpool was still to be the reservoir.

It was to meet this state of things that the Manchester Cotton Association was formed on November 6th, 1894. Charles Macara, then comparatively young in his office of President of the Employers' Federation, presided in the Victoria Arcade at one of those black-coated and felt-hatted Manchester meetings which are so much more than they seem to be, and took the directing headship of an Association which was immediately joined by 265 spinners representing 14,000,000 spindles.<sup>1</sup> The main objects of the Association were to promote the importation of raw cotton by the Canal and to establish a cotton market in Manchester. The Association had more success in the first than in the second of these aims. The market had been removed from Manchester to Liverpool by the opening of the railway in 1834, and, though a number of brokers have now returned to Manchester, the Canal has not brought the main organisation back. But the use of the Canal for cargoes of raw cotton was forwarded with striking results. Charles Macara, working in close association all the time with J. K. Bythell, an old friend

1. *Vide Appendix D, p. 249 et seq.*

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from the days of Grosvenor Square Church, held the presidency for six years, and, when he passed on the work in 1900 to other hands, the seasonal importation of cotton by the Canal had grown from 64,000 to 550,000 bales, having increased by 150,000 bales in the last year of the period. Larger even than the direct saving to the Lancashire cotton trade on this traffic was the indirect saving caused by competition and the disestablishment of a monopoly. At the same time Liverpool, in accordance with the mysterious and beneficent law of compensation, gained more than she lost. Supply was found, as it often is, to create demand.

This was by no means the end of Charles Macara's dealings with the momentous question of transport. In 1902 Lancashire was seriously alarmed by the rapid strides made by the American cotton trade in the Chinese market. Transport rates were suspected of having something to do with Lancashire's loss of this trade, and, on an examination of the matter, the surprising discovery was made that whereas it was three thousand miles further from New York to the Far East than from Liverpool, the American rate of carriage was about half the English rate. This intelli-

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gence was communicated to Lancashire. It was one of the instances of his habitual practice of addressing himself not only to capital but to labour, and, since the charges applied not alone to coarse cotton goods, but to other classes of our trade with China, including machinery, he brought practically all productive and inventive Lancashire into one compact protesting body. Distributive Lancashire was less easy to manage. The agitation was discountenanced by the powerful shipping fraternity of Manchester, and the Chamber of Commerce on this occasion gave little help.<sup>1</sup> The struggle with the Shipping Companies was a short one. A fortnight after Charles Macara made his exposure of the striking disparity between American and English rates to the Far East, a powerful deputation of masters and men under his leadership paid an important call on the Shipping Companies in Liverpool, and in another fortnight the rates from Liverpool to China were placed on a level with the rates from New York to China. The saving to the Lancashire cotton industry alone effected by these storming tactics was estimated at £100,000 a year.

1. John Thomson, the President of the Chamber, assisted the cause powerfully, but unofficially.

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It was shortly after this incident—in the year 1904—that Lancashire formally renounced the divine right to the cotton trade, and proclaimed it a commonwealth which was to overlies the boundaries of some twenty-one civilised countries of the world. The step was not suggested by the shrinkage of Lancashire which, in the years following the establishment of the International Federation, increased its spindles by very nearly the equivalent of the whole cotton trade of Germany, and by more than the equivalent of that of Russia or France, but by the unmanageable expansion of the world. Practically every inch of the unredeemed world won for civilisation is won for calico. The 250,000,000 inhabitants of the world who are still content with the state of nature are all of them potential customers for cotton, while the 750,000,000 who are partly clothed buy little of anything else, and as their code of etiquette assumes further complications, will buy more and more. Added to all this is the enormous consumption of calico in the temperate zones of earth. To ask Lancashire alone to feed a market such as this would be to ask her to abandon all her other occupations, to

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forego all the arts and solaces of life, and even the distinction between night and day, and still fail ; and those who were uneasy because the Lancashire cotton industry did not grow upon itself in the same ratio of growth as the juvenile spinning industries of Europe, were forgetting that maturity will not grow as fast as youth—it is enough if it consolidates and develops character.

The troubles which came to a head in 1904 were not due to any inability to sell manufactures but to an increasing inability to buy raw materials. America, with a growing manufacturing industry, was retaining more and more of her own cotton crop, and the day was beginning to be imaginable when she would retain it all. For what was left, England had to compete with the developing cotton industries of Europe and Asia, and the narrow margin between the world's demand and the world's supply was breeding a rampageous speculation. The "cotton corner" was becoming a more and more usual phenomenon. The extreme danger of Lancashire's almost complete dependence upon the weather and the whims of the Southern States had become apparent, and, about this time, the British

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Cotton Growing Association, which had its origin in a movement by the Oldham Chamber of Commerce, and of which Charles Macara afterwards became a Vice-President, began the important work of opening up fresh sources of supply in Africa under the British flag.

But the crisis of 1903 and 1904 would not wait for Africa. It was Sully's year. The shortage of raw material together with the operations of a single speculator brought Lancashire to a state of things which recalled, if it did not repeat, the experience of the Cotton Famine in the sixties. Lancashire escaped final disaster by adopting and faithfully working Charles Macara's plan of short hours. The working hours in the Lancashire factories were reduced from  $55\frac{1}{2}$  to 40 per week; the operatives went on a regimen which in the following summer spelt Blackpool again instead of Paris or Lucerne, which were growing in favour.<sup>1</sup> The call upon the raw cotton market was eased, and Sully was broken in pieces. Lancashire had saved the cotton trade of the world, but it was clearly felt that the sacrifice must not be asked of her again. The mass meeting

1. Charles Macara was always against complete stoppages of the trade, even if they were short ones, and preferred what may be called the rationing of work and wages.

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of employers and employed which pledged itself to Charles Macara's proposal at the end of 1903 was in telegraphic communication with the American and European spinners, and was attended by a representative of the French trade, and so strong was the *rapport* found to be already existing, that an international movement of the cotton trade was felt to be at least possible.

An appeal to the English Government to call an assembly of the cotton spinners of all countries to discuss the difficulties of the trade, met with a good deal of departmental sympathy but no practical response, and in March, 1904, the Employers' Federation of Lancashire, acting with the Swiss Association—the two bodies representing the whale and an exceedingly gallant minnow in these waters—summoned an international congress. Switzerland not only joined in convening the assembly, but acted as its host. The congress met at Zurich on May 23rd, 1904, and out of its deliberations grew the International Federation of Master Cotton Spinners' and Manufacturers' Associations, which was formally established at a second congress in Man-



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chester in 1905. Lancashire, although by far the largest interest included in the Federation, wisely abstained from every attempt to count for too much in its management. The annual conferences which followed were held at Bremen, Vienna, Paris, Milan, Brussels, Barcelona, and the Hague, and the committee met twice a year in some central city of Europe. Manchester gave the Federation its home and headquarters, and it is not too much to say that in Charles Macara, who was elected President in 1904, and held the office till 1915, it gave the movement life and soul.

Every question affecting the cotton industry, except the labour question, came before these annual meetings of the International Federation. It was, however, called into existence by the crisis of 1904, and until 1914, when the floor fell out of these international structures, its best mind went into projects for widening the world's harvest of cotton. Accordingly, we find it encouraging and superintending in the tropical colonies of European countries the work which was being done in English colonies by the British Cotton Growing Association.<sup>1</sup> On India the Federation made a lasting mark. The

1. *Vide Appendix C, p. 233 et seq.*

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Indian cotton crop is degenerate. It was the source of the priceless Indian hand-woven muslins, and a pound's weight of the yarn from which these fabrics were produced has been estimated to be two hundred and forty miles long. Indifferent cultivation has cost it all this eminence of quality, and it is now the characteristically short-stapled cotton of the world, though, as such, it serves very largely on the continent of Europe for the manufacture of rough and ready goods, and performs the valuable economic function of relieving the pressure on the American crop. The activities of the International Federation lifted the Indian crop from three million to nearly six million bales, and an important project for the planting of American and Egyptian seed on a large tract of irrigated land in India had advanced considerably when it was temporarily set back by the outbreak of war.<sup>1</sup>

The International Federation did much to improve the cultivation of cotton in America and to civilise the American cotton bale. It was the characteristic of the American cotton bale that it never seemed to get properly out of bed in the morning. A man ungroomed and down-at-heel

1. *Vide* Appendix D, p. 249 *et seq.*

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object of commerce, it loafed and loitered away many misdirected hours in shanties and on quay sides, and showed up in England at an advanced hour of day still in the same convalescence of slippers and dressing gown. The whole cotton growing industry of America was suffering from this Bohemianism, and inattention to small things was beginning to count, as it will, in the large result. The yield acre by acre was steadily declining, and American cotton might have gone the way of Indian had not a Private Investigation Commission organised by Charles Macara visited the Southern States in 1906 at the time of planting, and again at the time of picking, and made many suggestions as to the treatment of soil and the selection of seed, startling the dilettanti with prosaic recommendations about bringing the gathered cotton in out of the rain. The advice had the unusual experience of being taken. Charles Macara, leading another international delegation to America<sup>1</sup> in the following year, was surprised, accustomed as he was to the majestic deliberation with which English officialism proceeds from know-

1. This delegation travelled 4,600 miles in a special train through the cotton growing States.

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ing about a thing to doing it, to find experimental farms already set up and spreading knowledge, and large warehouses erected for the proper storage of cotton.

The International Cotton Federation had a sister in the service of agriculture. It was drawn into relationship with the International Institute of Agriculture partly because cotton, like wheat, is an annual harvest, and the fortunes of all who live by it rest ultimately with the seed which falls into the ground and dies, and partly because Charles Macara, while he gave life to the one, saved it to the other. In the early years of the present century David Lubin, an American citizen, travelled the world with an important scheme for setting up an observation post from which all the harvests of the world could be surveyed and signalled, bad results here be set off against good results there, and all the growing fields of earth put, so to speak, under a single stewardship. The main object was to thwart the speculator who thrives on the kind of ignorance which David Lubin's scheme was to dispel. It was intended to give the world eyes in the back of its head.

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After much journeying to and fro, David Lubin got a hearing from the King of Italy, who called together the governments of the world to consider the scheme in a Conference at Rome. The Conference was a success, but a work of this kind, being everybody's business and therefore nobody's, depending on a large number of people willing the same thing at the same time, and doing it, no sooner gets afloat than it gets becalmed. It overcomes mere obstruction, but perishes of inertia. It gets mislaid in pigeon-holes, and David Lubin's scheme was dying of asphyxia when its author sought out Charles Macara in Manchester. Full of sympathy for a brother organiser in distress, full of the idea itself, he went to London in the interests of the scheme, saw one of the English officials who had been to Rome, and so worked upon him that he modulated his advice to the English Government out of the minor into the major key, and ended his report, as he had not begun it, with an imperative "yes." Having convinced the English Government he went on to Paris and convinced the French Government, and hurried back to London to keep Whitehall up to the sticking point.



MAJOR GENERAL SIR ARCHIBALD GALLOWAY.



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It was the saving of David Lubin's scheme. The international Institute of Agriculture was set up in Rome. Alone, or almost alone, among the appliances for the peace of the world it has had the distinction of surviving even the European War. Its bulletins continue to supply invaluable information.

The International Cotton Federation enjoyed a considerable social prestige. It was received everywhere. Charles Macara and the members of the International Committee talked business not only with Ministers of State, but in all the palaces of Europe—with King Edward at Windsor; with the German Emperor on board his yacht in Kiel Harbour; with the Emperor of Austria in Vienna; with the King of Italy in Rome; with the King of the Belgians in Brussels; with the President of the Provisional Government of Portugal in Lisbon; with the King of Spain in Madrid; with the Queen of the Netherlands at the Royal Palace of Loo; and with Presidents Loubet, Fallieres, and Poincaré at the Elysée, Paris; with the Khedive of Egypt and Lord Kitchener<sup>1</sup> away at the outposts of the empire, and with the Governors of the Cotton States

1. *Vide* Appendix C, p. 239 *et seq.*, and H, p. 327 *et seq.*



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of America. They talked cotton, and above all they talked peace. Never for a moment did Charles Macara unhitch his waggon from that beckoning star, or lose the faith which was so strong in earlier Manchester that commerce must ultimately civilise and pacify the earth. Since these conversations the world has gone the other way, but it will return to the appointed path, and the work of internationalising Europe will be the easier for these first attempts. The channels have been dug, and habit will find them and run in them again. Habit—even long intermitted habit—always does.

War : Cotton Reserve.  
Cotton as Contraband.  
National Register.







## CHAPTER VIII

### WAR.

THE International Cotton Federation and the Industrial Council were Charles Macara's chief contributions—larger and more practical contributions than most men have the good fortune to make—to the ideas and institutions of his age. But the whole of his Presidency of the English Master Cotton Spinners' Federation was a gift not only to Lancashire, but to society at large. It was a totally new efflorescence. He had shaped a new type of career, and almost, we might say, lived a new kind of life. Success in business is liable in England to two processes of degeneration. It either remains an affair of mere accumulation and becomes stagnant, or it is run off into the futilities of sport or party politics, feeling its sandy way, if it takes the latter course, through interminable division lobbies to final evaporation in the House of Lords. Charles Macara made business a public career. He moralised it, and made it stand before kings. His room in York Street, Manchester, was not only the

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wheel-house from which a large private enterprise was navigated, but more and more as his own business answered the lightest touch of the helm, it became the workshop of a public economist. At the most critical moments in the history of the cotton trade he was freely accessible to the press; calling the needy journalist in; instructing him in technical processes; inculcating his favourite theory of the inter-dependence of industry; rejoicing greatly over every ounce of this teaching which percolated into print; sorrowing, as those that are without hope, over the failure of the London press to understand cotton. Himself, he pamphleteered and indoctrinated without ceasing, preferred voluntary work to any of the number of directorates he might have had, and not only thought out in principle, but carried through in detail, scheme after scheme for organising industrial England, and bringing men, in one of his own favourite phrases, "into line."

This organising activity made itself felt chiefly in the relations between Lancashire and the outside world, and, within Lancashire, in the relations between masters and men. But it had other manifestations. The Cotton Employers' Parliamentary

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Association was formed in 1899 to consider Acts of Parliament affecting the cotton industry. It was the counterpart on the employers' side to the United Textile Factory Workers' Association on the side of the operatives, and it was the combination of these two bodies which intervened in 1903 with such decisive results in the fiscal controversy raised by Mr. Chamberlain. Charles Macara presided at the joint conference in which the two bodies spoke the mind of the cotton trade, and, keeping the agitation then lighted at white heat, made himself perhaps the most powerful opponent of Tariff Reform outside Parliament.<sup>1</sup> In the three controversial years which followed, the name "Macara" became an argument, if not a clincher in itself, and could be heard employed in that capacity in any railway carriage or smoking café in Lancashire.<sup>2</sup>

Larger in its scope, if not so decisive in its results, was the Employers' Parliamentary Association

1. *Vide Appendix F, p. 289 et seq.*

2. Speaking at Bolton at the height of the Tariff Reform Controversy, Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman said: "I have some words here which I have reserved to the very close of my remarks, in order to give more emphasis to them. They are the words which were used by a friend of mine, Mr. Macara, President of the Cotton Employers' Federation. He said: 'It may, I think, be taken that intelligent and fostering legislation, harmonious relationship between capital and labour, enterprise to secure a

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which grew out of his profound discontent with the details of the Insurance Act. In the hope of postponing the operation of that Act,<sup>1</sup> he organised a deputation to the Prime Minister which represented two thousand millions of capital.<sup>2</sup> The deputation was refused a hearing.<sup>3</sup> The Employers' Parliamentary Association was formed to give industry and commerce and the managing mind generally their due weight in public affairs. The Association was a success. It attracted to itself forty Employers' Federations and Associations, and a great number

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plentiful supply of raw material, energy, ability, and skill on the part of both employers and workpeople, and economy in the cost of production, are the main factors that will enable us to continue to secure a fair share of the world's trade. I venture to express the opinion, at all events, that these conditions form the most secure basis any great commercial nation can rest upon which is dependent upon foreign trade for such a large proportion of its employment.'"—*Times* October 16th, 1903.

1. One of the provisions of the Act was that its operation could be postponed for six months.

2. Charles Macara presided over the largest protest meeting held in Manchester, and as it was impossible to find any hall large enough to accommodate the whole of those who wished to take part in it, he asked for signatures to the protest, 18,000, embracing the names of many leading firms in the north of England, the midland counties, and in the north of Ireland, being secured in four days.

3. The working of the Act has proved that many of the fears which it excited were well founded, and a Committee of Investigation was appointed (1916) on which Charles Macara was requested to serve, but, being unable to do so, he nominated Mr. John Haworth, the Secretary of the Employers' Parliamentary Association, to act in his place.

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of important firms which still stood alone in the increasingly severe industrial and financial weather of the times, and thus constituted, it concerned itself actively in the legislation and science of industry.

For some five years Charles Macara carried the day to day work of the Association on his own shoulders, and retired from his office of President early in 1917 on the ground that the Association in the process of amalgamating itself with another body of the same character was shifting from the democratic basis on which it had been built up.<sup>1</sup>

In 1911 Charles Macara was created a baronet of the United Kingdom. Three years before—in 1908—France had given him, as the founder of the International Cotton Federation, the Legion of Honour, the Consul-General of the Republic in the

1. Firms and associations of firms were to be eligible for membership of the new body on a flat rate payment of £100 a year for three years. Charles Macara was in favour of levies on members *pro rata*, but as the majority decided in favour of the flat rate, he declined to accept further responsibility for the management of the Association. The five Annual Reports of the Employers' Parliamentary Association show the magnitude and importance of its work. The last report, issued in January, 1917, dealt with industrial unrest, industry and finance, alien indebtedness, scientific research, patents, transport facilities, a ministry of commerce, the National Insurance Act, federation of British industries, etc.



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West of England investing him with the Order in the Manchester Town Hall. In the same year he was presented with an address by the representatives of fifteen nationalities.<sup>1</sup> In the travels of the Federation throughout Europe he received decorations from Belgium, Spain, Germany and Italy ; and an acknowledgment of his work from the United States of America. The baronetcy met with the full approval of Lancashire, and it is significant that the congratulations of the cotton trade came both from employers and employed. The Employers' Federation, in a resolution adopted on January 6th, 1911, referred to "untiring and devoted services rendered so willingly and cheerfully to the cotton industry, not of this country only, but of the entire cotton-using world," and to "devoted labours on behalf of international peace and goodwill," while the Secretaries of the two great trade unions of South-east Lancashire—that of the Cardroom workers and that of the Operative Spinners—wrote warm personal letters, and forwarded the good wishes of their members. The Operative Spinners afterwards framed their congratulations to Sir

1. *Vide* Appendix C, 245 *et seq.*

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Charles and Lady Macara in an illuminated address. In presenting this address, Mr. Thomas Ashton, the veteran President, spoke of the belief which the cotton operatives generally, no less than their leaders had in Sir Charles Macara's fairness of mind. "We have always found him striving to be just, to hold the balance evenly between employers and employed, and to promote those peaceful relations which are so essential to the welfare of the cotton industry."<sup>1</sup>

But the world was coming to the parting of the ways. August 4th, 1914, was at hand. The great dividing line in time behind which the old world seems even now antediluvial was about to be drawn. To Sir Charles Macara, as, indeed, to everyone who had cherished and promoted large public objects, the war came as a great disolvent. Within a few days of its outbreak he, already visited by two representatives of the Government, was actively assisting in that financial clearing of decks and fastening of hatches which was the

1. It was in receiving this address that Sir Charles Macara lamented that no monument had been erected in Lancashire to James Mawdesley, perhaps the greatest figure which the trade unionism of the county has produced.

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need of the moment, and, the first crisis being safely passed, and the Liverpool Cotton Market temporarily closed, he offered his gratuitous services to any department of the Government which cared to call for them. In the first winter of the war a difference of opinion with the Cotton Employers' Federation on the strategical management of the world's cotton supply brought to an end, after a twenty-one years' eventful history, his headship of that great body. He preferred to retain his liberty of action during the national crisis. The following year—1915—he retired also from the presidency of the International Federation, the work of which was practically suspended by the war. The war was, however, the occasion of all occasions for the use of an organising faculty like his. Almost as important in August, 1914, as the despatch of the expeditionary force was the industrial mobilisation of England. Two administrative achievements of the highest workmanship, swiftly, silently and strongly done, were, as we shall see, among the results of his offer of service to the Government. But larger and more momentous than the things which he did was one other thing

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which he wanted to do. He offered England a plan to secure all the strategical advantages of making cotton contraband while avoiding all the inconveniences which attended and for a long time effectually prevented that course. For the first twelve months of the war, German textile machinery ran without interruption. Though this was felt to be the very negation of our supremacy at sea, the Government considered itself unable to risk the results on neutral opinion which would have been taken by declaring cotton contraband of war. The German cotton mills accordingly continued to run, and it was not until scientific evidence was produced and made public as to the double life which cotton lives in this world—the Jekyll of towels and sheetings and the Hyde of propulsive explosives—that the English Government considered itself to have a case on which it could act without the risk of complications. Sir Charles Macara presided at a great meeting at the Queen's Hall, London, in August, 1915. He concluded his speech in the following words:—

“ Allow me to quote from an article which I contributed to the September (1914) number of the

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“Financial Review of Reviews,” which was sent to the members of the Cabinet, and was widely circulated and quoted from.” In that article I wrote :—

“ I will assume that we do neither unexpectedly well nor unexpectedly ill, but continue making steady progress, suffering checks perhaps from time to time, but on the whole maintaining and consolidating our mastery of the sea. On this assumption the outlook, although serious, can, in my opinion, be faced with equanimity if only the various interests affected—industrial, commercial, financial, scientific, transport, and labour—assisted by the Government, present a united front to the common danger.

“ The great increase of population during the period that has elapsed since the Franco-German war, the enormous development of industry and commerce, and the intricacies of international finance, are factors which I think cannot have been fully realised by those who are responsible for bringing about the clash of arms on the gigantic scale of modern warfare. Not only have these millions of armed men to be fed and other-

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wise provided for, but perhaps the more difficult task is the provision for the many millions who are as a consequence of the war deprived of work and the means of livelihood. Any nation engaged in the present conflict that does not prepare to face both these contingencies is courting disaster. . . . I am more convinced than ever that interference with the supply of food and clothing will be the prime factor in bringing the present colossal war to an end."

"Speaking now, after twelve months' experience of the war, I feel it is an absolute necessity that well-considered, strong measures must be carried out which will have the effect of preventing cotton reaching enemy countries, while, at the same time, acting fairly in the interests of neutral countries, and safeguarding the future welfare of a great international industry."

Sir William Ramsay, the eminent scientist, at this meeting testified to what he knew about cotton, and a resolution<sup>1</sup> was carried unanimously calling

1. "That His Majesty's Prime Minister be informed that in the opinion of this meeting the protection of the interests of the Empire and its Allies would be best secured by an immediate declaration that Cotton is Contraband of War, and that the necessary steps should be taken to protect the interests of neutrals, both growers and consumers."

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on the Government to make it absolute contraband of war. Shortly afterwards this was done, and the textile mills in Germany and Austria began to close down.

But this was not and never had been Sir Charles Macara's way. His plan constructed more than it destroyed. It contemplated at once the discomfiture of Germany and Austria, and the edification, outside these countries, of the whole trade of growing and spinning cotton. The plan depended on the existence of certain statistics tabulated by the International Cotton Federation, and disclosing where and in what quantities the world's cotton supply was grown ; where and in what quantities it was consumed. This great statistical structure was not yet complete, but it had advanced sufficiently to indicate precisely the normal consumption of raw cotton by each neutral country, and it was the beginning of the plan that each neutral country should be rationed with its own average consumption on its own showing.

The beginning, but not the end ! Still more to the point, the figures collected by the International Federation disclosed the amount of

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raw cotton which had been normally used by Germany and Austria. Sir Charles Macara perceived that the sudden death of this great consuming appetite would react violently on the economics of the trade, causing firstly a sharp fall in prices, which would probably be followed, as the acreage under cotton was reduced, by an equally sharp rise. These things happened as he had predicted, in their order, and in September, 1916, cotton, which had, at the outbreak of war, fallen from  $7\frac{1}{2}$ d. to 4d. per pound, was selling at tenpence, and in 1917 at considerably over double that price.

It was the second and more constructive part of his plan that the cotton normally grown and shipped for the use of the German and Austrian trades should still be grown, but should be used to form a cotton reserve. Raw cotton, when properly packed, is storable for years. The plan was to store this portion of the supply; to steady the market during the period of the war, and perhaps to learn from the war a lesson which would prove fruitful even in the days of peace, the greatest need of the cotton trade being some plan by which the good harvest of one year may be set against the bad harvest of



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another. Sir Charles Macara pressed the plan upon the Government early in the war. It is possible to speculate how far, by multiplying the immediate embarrassments of the German people, it might have helped to shorten the agonies of Europe. But it was not adopted, and the speculation is now vain.

In the taking of the National Register he had more of his own way. Faced with the problem of raising an enormous new army, the English Government proceeded to raise it by the true English method of "muddling through," the delicate considerations which properly arose of a man's training and temperament and his proper function in the State—whether of arms in the field, or industry and perhaps invention in the workshop—being settled much as a bull takes its decisions among the valuables in a china shop. The sea was not so much netted for men as dredged. Some who ought to have gone stayed at home; many whose duty was at home went, and no thought whatever was spared for industries which, walking in the paths of peace and fabricating neither shot nor shell, suddenly became belligerent as maintaining England's exports, and, with her exports, her

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credit abroad. In order that the fishing might be equipped with a mesh that would take the suitable life and release that which was unsuitable, Sir Charles Macara came forward in May, 1915, with a scheme for national registration, by which England was to look into herself, weigh, and, having weighed, analyse her human resources, and thus spend her strength on some intelligible plan.

The scheme was taken as the basis of the National Registration Bill afterwards introduced and carried by Mr. Walter Long, the President of the Local Government Board. There remained the important work of taking the register. Had it been decided on a little later in our war history there can be little doubt that a towering and expensive department would have been created *ad hoc*. The orgy of departmentalisation which was afterwards to cover most of Whitehall with the pavilions of vain repetition, and to turn thousands of visitors to London out of their bedrooms to make space for batteries of new typewriters, had not yet set in. Sir Charles Macara proposed nothing more fanciful than that the two thousand municipalities, already in full working order, each one knowing its own

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district and its own people, should take the register. Though he had stipulated himself against serving on Committees—one of the most ingenious ways of wasting time known to self-deceiving man—he consented, at Mr. Long's request, to join the small committee which was formed to superintend the process. The municipalities were accordingly set to work on a definite plan of operations; voluntary workers in each district gave a few evenings to the work, and the register was taken quickly, smoothly and without fuss. Some twenty-seven million forms went out and came back, and the work was finished before the country quite realised that it had begun.<sup>1</sup>

During the South African War he had thought out and offered to the country a scheme to provide for the dependents of men killed or incapacitated. The Prince of Wales was to have been at the head of the scheme and the Lords Lieutenant and the heads of the municipalities were to have been called in to operate it. All the branches were to have been associated with one central fund, with collection and distribution on a fixed plan to prevent over-

1. *Vide* press and the use of the nation's man power, as outlined by Sir Auckland Geddes, Minister of National Service.

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lapping. This scheme, which, by this time, had passed beyond the experimental stage, having been successfully used in connection with the Lancashire Indian Famine Funds 1897 and 1900, was again submitted when the Prince of Wales' Fund was started in the early days of the European War, and many authorities regretted that it was not the one on which the country acted.

In the early part of 1915 Sir Charles Macara was requested to organise the supply of aircraft cloth for the Admiralty, a work which required not only a wide knowledge of the textile trade, but the highest technical expertness. For the management in detail of this responsible work he was asked to select his own assistants, who were given rank in the Royal Naval Volunteer Reserve, and very soon a new department was in perfect working order. It seemed obvious that the agency which was providing cloth for the naval air service should provide it for the sister service of the army. It would have been a simple case of more steam from the same boiler. Sir Charles Macara accordingly suggested that aircraft cloth should be collected by a single department and distributed by this department among all the

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aircraft services of England and the Allies. The Government preferred, however, the system of biting twice at the same cherry, and the suggestion was not adopted.

A further war service rendered by Sir Charles Macara took the form of an important intervention between the Government and the large Lancashire firms of textile machinists in regard to the terms for the manufacture of munitions. The Government terms were regarded as thoroughly unsatisfactory. They were modified as the result of this intervention and firms employing some 50,000 men fell at once into line.

It was Sir Charles Macara's complaint against the general war administration of England that it was hydrocephalic; that the head developed at the expense of the members. To him the mobilisation of England presented itself not as a case for new mechanism, but for more steam from the old. More and more, as time went on, Whitehall seemed to be exactly reversing the terms of the proposition as thus stated, the signs being the growth of new departments like the growth of mushrooms, the

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creation of a great sacred college of controllers, the multiplication of Parliamentary Secretaries, Under Secretaries, and nondescript Secretaries, until they constituted an impressive public meeting in themselves, and the approach by rapid strides of the time when everybody was to live by taking in everybody else's washing. Much of the machinery thus created, notably the machinery for organising national service, raced prodigiously, but never gripped; the screws revolved, but not in the water. Sir Charles Macara had got the National Register out of the well-oiled wheels of the English municipalities, and, on the same principle, he pointed out constantly in the press that England abounded in organisations, each one more or less perfect in its own drill, and only needing the order to march and quicken the pace. Labour was organised; capital also; labour and capital were organised together in the Industrial Council. Finance, transport and science, each one of these, like labour and capital, was a corporate personality capable of being fetched. It was his plan to fetch them. Very largely rejected in England, the following advice was, at the request of the American press, forwarded to the United

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States for publication in the event of that country declaring war :—

“ My advice to America is—rather use the organisations already existing in the framework of peace, than attempt to create new ones. One of the bodies we should have used for this purpose here was the Industrial Council. It consisted of the trusted leaders of capital and labour; it was already a working mechanism, and capable, therefore, of dealing powerfully and promptly with the great questions of employment that arise with the outbreak of a war. In the same way I suggested that the municipalities should take and tabulate the National Register, and the speed, precision and economy with which that work was done, proved the soundness of the plan. By giving definite instructions to our two thousand municipalities, it was just as easy to organise the whole country as to organise one city.

“ In other particulars the English Government has failed to take this advice. New departments have been created at a speed and on a scale that has begun, in these later days of war, to cause great alarm to the business minds of the community. During recent months especially, every week has seen some great public building or

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hotel cleared for the accommodation of some new department of state, which proceeds first to get itself into working order, and then—after an interval—to get to work. Such departments are a hindrance rather than a help in time of war, and will be a serious embarrassment in times of peace.

“ In every highly developed civilisation, almost every great interest will be found to be already organised. Labour, capital, finance, transportation, science, each of these organisations should be put on a war footing and called on for its special war work. When this has been done, all of them should be knit into one strong and sensitive entity, and the whole nation will thus be efficiently at war. To employ the tried brain, and the well-oiled wheels, is my advice to America. The war has definitely proved the commercial and industrial adaptability of women. But they would have done much more here if there had been proper organisation when the great migration of women into commerce and industry began. The rush was not anticipated nor directed. Women were allowed to drift into occupations largely as they liked, a state of things not at all necessary, seeing that in the National Register the country had an inventory of its woman resources.



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“ It is on the necessity for national organisation that I would insist first and last—not organisation for the sake of organisation, but for the sake of work. Accordingly, I earnestly counsel you, at the end, as at the beginning, to make full use of the means which your country has ready for use and nearest to hand. My experience has always been that in great movements the best work is done with the aid of a small but efficient staff.

“ The great staple industries can only be dealt with by the organisations of capital and labour, although minor industries might be dealt with by the municipalities. It is only those who have had to deal with strikes and lockouts in great industries who can understand how to deal with these industries in emergencies. I have never tired of telling England that ordering of industry is a part of the vital strategy of war. In other words, I would plead with your government to let its business men organise the nation's industries on a national scale. And I would plead with business men, at the same time, to offer their services freely to the state at the outset, and not when heavy losses have been incurred. The business men can carry the nation to undreamed of triumphs; but they must take the reins NOW.”

# Rest in Change of Work

Lifeboat Saturday, etc.







## CHAPTER IX

### REST IN CHANGE OF WORK.

It was in 1884 that Charles Macara took a house at St. Anne's-on-the-Sea, on the bluff and beaten Lancashire coast. St. Anne's-on-the-Sea was not in 1884 the polite and polished esplanade which it has since become, but a weather-beaten, hard-bitten little town, with the sand in its eyes and the sting of flying spray on its face, with the star-grass like a crop of needles in the drifts, and a parliament of blue-jerseyed senators who looked out to the west and considered the weather. Thirteen of them afterwards immortalised themselves. Born almost within the sound of the sea, he quickly formed a fast friendship with this breed of Lancashire fishermen, and the friendship—of Sir Charles Macara with the men as they went and came, and of Lady Macara with the women, who neither went nor came, but only waited—was destined to have great results on the lives of all who live in small cottages and dry their nets on the verge of great waters. Sir Charles Macara, then in

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the full course of his commercial career, went to St. Anne's-on-the-Sea to escape from life, and instead of escaping it he found it. He chose the place as a retreat, and it gave him, not a retreat, but publicity, a cause, a mission, a baptism in public service, and one of the severest labours of a severe life.

Very soon after his arrival in St. Anne's-on-the-Sea he began to take part in the practices of the lifeboat, and out of the brotherhood which he thus formed with the crew arose "Lifeboat Saturday," and a great opening of the eyes and heart of England. But not until after the awful events of December, 1886. On a stormy afternoon early in that month, five men, the crew of a small steamer from Montrose, were seen from the shore at St. Anne's clinging to the mast of the vessel which had gone aground on Salter's Bank. The lifeboat put out to the rescue, and after many hours of labour and peril returned with its treasure. The coxswain and sub-coxswain of the lifeboat were taken to Sir Charles Macara's house, and from there they told their modest story by telephone to the newspapers in Manchester. Five nights later, and

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in the gathered fury of the same gale, the lifeboat was called out again. The German barque 'Mexico,' bound from Hamburg to Liverpool, was aground on the treacherous Horse Bank, in the estuary of the Ribble. The lifeboat crews of Lytham, Southport and St. Anne's went to the rescue. The St. Anne's men, fresh from their recent triumph on Salter's Bank, were in high spirits, though Charles Tims, the sub-coxswain, a fisherman of great bravery, and a famous man on that coast, seemed to hear in the gale a voice which he had not heard before.

The boat never came back. Its single light was swallowed up in victory, and only an unintelligible rocket now and then out of the welter of the night told the watchers on the shore that there was still life, but of whom and how faring, no one knew. At dawn the wives of the lifeboat men gathered at Sir Charles Macara's house. There was still no news, but when the morning was a little spent a lifeboat was seen struggling towards the shore. It was the Lytham boat, which had rescued the crew of the 'Mexico.' A horseman rode into the sea to meet her, and it was he who scattered the suspense and spread desolation in its place. The Southport

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boat and the boat from St. Anne's had both capsized. Of the Southport crew two were cast up alive. Not a man of the St. Anne's crew returned. The wives and children they had left looked up into the faces of Sir Charles and Lady Macara, and they did not look up in vain. They were friends at court. All England and all Europe was made to ring with the doings of that night. In less than a fortnight £33,000 was collected for the relief of the widows and the fatherless, and their future being made secure, the memory of the thirteen lost heroes was saved to future ages in the chiselled figure which looks out to sea from the beach at St. Anne's.

It was this event which caused Sir Charles Macara to look closely into lifeboat politics and finance. Examining the 1890 report of the Royal National Lifeboat Institution, the only agency of its kind for saving life at sea, he found that some 25,000 people only out of our many-millions island race were contributing, either by large gifts or small, to its income, which in that year was startlingly below its expenditure. Accordingly, in 1891, being already, as one of the organisers of the Lifeboat Disaster Fund,



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in possession of the ear of the country on this subject, he made a strong appeal<sup>1</sup> to the British public to come to the rescue of the National Institution. Great newspapers passed the word along, and the response was satisfactory.

But not satisfactory enough. Sir Charles Macara felt that this was a cause which every man could be made to understand, and that its public was not only of those who made solemn bequests in stately wills and testaments, but of the much larger body which rattled a week's wages in

1. "I think the British public generally have very little idea that one of the noblest of the numerous philanthropic institutions in the country is in dire financial straits. The record of the Royal National Life-boat Institution since its formation is one of which the nation is justly proud, as by its instrumentality over 35,000 lives have been saved at sea, and the many deeds of heroism which have been chronicled in connection with its operations are the envy of the whole civilised world. Having a seaside residence on one of the most dangerous parts of the Lancashire coast, I have had opportunities of witnessing the conspicuous gallantry of our Lifeboat men that do not fall to the lot of many. It has also been my painful experience to be prominently associated with the most terrible disaster that ever befel the Lifeboat service, when the whole of the St. Anne's crew were swept away, and all but two of the brave men who manned the Southport boat returned no more. The great power of the Press was never better illustrated than on that memorable occasion, as, mainly by the pathetic appeals that were made through it, considerably over £30,000 was raised for the widows and children of the drowned men. The late German Emperor, William I., was so much touched with this disaster that he sent £250 for distribution amongst the bereaved. Such a magnificent result has emboldened me to appeal once more by the same means to the public on behalf of this great national institution, which is sorely in need of funds. The deficit last year assumed alarming proportions, and unless the country is roused to supply the necessary means, the Institution's operations will be very seriously curtailed."—JULY 23RD, 1891.

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its pockets. It was to get at the small change and the coppers of the country that he originated "Lifeboat Saturday."<sup>1</sup> Manchester, the harassed mother of all new causes, was the scene of the first experiment in the October of 1891. For two days before the appointed Saturday, two lifeboats with their crews—reserve lifeboats and reserve crews, but still the genuine article—were dragged through Manchester and Salford to create the right atmosphere. The appointed day was processional, and culminated in the launching of the lifeboats at Belle Vue Gardens in the presence of 30,000 spectators. The fullest advantage was taken of Sir Charles Macara's organisation for collecting subscriptions and donations, and the city was dredged of its spare cash; money was shaken from upper window-sills and from the tops of tramcars, and at the end of the day Manchester and Salford,

1. In an article entitled "The Life-boat Saturday Movement Rapidly Developing," published in "The Life-boat Journal" of the Royal National Life-boat Institution on August 1st, 1894, the following reference was made to the work of the originator of the Fund:—"We cannot but specially mention Mr. and Mrs. Macara, both of whom have thrown themselves heart and soul into the work, and have done wonders in developing the Lifeboat Saturday and Ladies' Committee movements, of which they were respectively the originators."

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which had been contributing £200 per annum to the saving of life at sea, had given £5,500.

“Lifeboat Saturday” spread. By the end of 1893 it had become a feature of English life. It raised the annual average income of the Royal National Lifeboat Institution directly and indirectly by £40,000, thereby making it possible to increase the remuneration of the lifeboatmen. Incidentally it revolutionised the methods of collecting money in England. It brought charity into the streets and the streets into charity. As the first of many consecrated “Saturdays,” it was the beginning of a great humanization of the common life by the breath of generous causes. For some five years, though his public responsibilities in the cotton trade were becoming greater each year, Sir Charles Macara bore the main burden of the Lifeboat Saturday Organisation, retiring from the work finally in 1896 when he dissented strongly from the removal of its headquarters from Manchester to London until a scheme of organisation which he had been perfecting was in order. He continued, however, and still continues, to be, Chairman of the St. Anne’s-on-the-Sea Branch of the Lifeboat

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Institution—taking a practical interest in the work—and a friend of all sailors' societies, particularly the British and Foreign Sailors' Society,<sup>1</sup> which had assisted him in the working of the Lifeboat Saturday Fund.<sup>2</sup>

In all the work on behalf of the Lifeboat Sir Charles had the untiring help of his wife. It was Lady Macara who, in 1892, formed the first of those Ladies' Auxiliary Committees which, designed to further the cause on the higher social levels were found indispensable in every town which started a Lifeboat Saturday. Lady Macara became the Honorary Secretary of the first committee of the kind set up in Manchester. In the service of the Lifeboat her assistance to her husband was active, and was given with voice and pen, but all the great work of Sir Charles Macara's life in the fields of industry and commerce was submitted to her judgment, and step by step, and stage by stage, had her understanding and assent.

1. *Vide* Appendix H. p. 324.

2. Guided by the experience gained from lifeboat work, Sir Charles Macara took a leading part in the organisation of the Lancashire Indian Famine Funds of 1897 and 1900, by which large sums were sent to India. The contributions were drawn not only from Lancashire mill-owners and merchants, but from the workpeople. Notwithstanding the claims made upon society by the South African War, the amount subscribed for the Indian Famine Fund of 1900 was almost as large as that contributed in 1897.

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The home which grew up around them was warmed and illuminated by public spirit and invigorated by public duty. William C. Macara, Sir Charles Macara's only son, is second in command in the management of the house of Bannerman, and takes his share in public duty in Manchester as the honorary secretary of the Home Trade Association, which embraces in its membership all the well-known home trade firms. All Sir Charles Macara's daughters belong to that new efflorescence of womanhood which insists on its right to be useful and to serve the world. To gratify the taste of his four daughters, who all took high diplomas in agricultural and horticultural subjects, he took a model farm in Herefordshire, where they put their training into practice. Soon after the beginning of the war an exceedingly important and successful social experiment was inaugurated in another part of the country by one of them, in training women for work upon the land.<sup>1</sup> Another daughter, after the outbreak of the war, was able to undertake duties in her father's business in Manchester, where it became necessary to employ a large number of

1. *Vide* Appendix G. p. 321.

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women to replace men who had joined the colours.

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The past of Lancashire is a brilliant achievement of energy and of thought. Her future is at the moment uncertain, and some think it is definitely dark. A community which buys from one hemisphere of earth and sells to the other—her interests are on far horizons, involved in the shifting sands of world politics. A new Europe has to arise out of ruins, and a new creed may actuate the government of England in which there will be no room for full economic Lancashire. Much of fashionable society, and a whole school of statesmanship momentarily exalted at once by the passions and the necessities of war, hate the gospel for which Lancashire has stood in history, and by virtue of which she still draws the full breath of life. Hitherto she has not lacked men, each generation serving her according as the true service was more liberty or more law. And few, even of her own born sons, have loved her better, and served her more practically, or helped her over a longer and more critical span of time than Charles Macara, whom she took to herself in his youth—and brought up for her own.

## Appendices









## APPENDIX A

### THE COTTON INDUSTRY.

A COMPREHENSIVE SURVEY FROM THE EARLIEST  
TIMES.<sup>1</sup>

COTTON—ITS EARLY HISTORY.

By Sir CHARLES MACARA, Bart.

The use of cotton in its various forms is, in the present day, so universal that very few ever trouble to enquire into its origin and history, yet the story of cotton from the earliest times in which any record of it can be found is an intensely interesting one. The earliest mention of it that can be traced is in the form of a fable in which the cotton plant as a vegetable lamb existed in western Asia. We learn that at a time very obscure in its remoteness, the cotton plant or tree grew in a country then known as Scythia or Tartary, and that the inhabitants appear to have made use of the fleecy fibres to weave materials for clothing. The knowledge of this remarkable vegetable product gradually spread to regions where the wonderful plant was unknown, but in travelling a great deal of fiction was added to fact, the result being that many strange stories were spread abroad, all of them identical in one feature, but with variations of detail. It was always a lamb that grew on a tree, but there were differences

1. A paper prepared at the request of the Belgian Government, and delivered at the Ghent Exhibition, 1913. Reprinted from the "Revue Economique Internationale," Brussels, July 1913.

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in the way in which it presented itself. In one form of the fable we have "a tree bearing fruit or seed pods, which, when they ripened and burst open, were seen to contain little lambs, of whose soft white fleeces eastern people wove material for their clothing."

Passing from the region of fable to that of more or less clearly ascertained fact, there can be no doubt that cotton as first made known to us in Europe, was a product which had gradually made its way hither from Western Asia, where the plant was indigenous. The peoples of the world have always in the first instance provided themselves with clothing from the raw materials most ready to their hands, and while in other countries these took the forms of flax, wool, hair, or silk, certain Asiatic populations were availing themselves of the plant whose fleecy fibres were finer than those of wool. At what period these cotton cultivating Asiatics first learnt to spin and weave their vegetable wool it is impossible to say, but in the sacred books of India there is evidence to show that cotton was in use eight centuries before the Christian era. Herodotus, the father of history, who wrote about the year 445 B.C., is the first to mention cotton in its oriental use. Writing of India, he says: "They possess likewise a kind of plant which, instead of fruit, produces wool of a finer and better quality than that of sheep; of this the Indians make their clothes." That civilisation reached a very high standard among the Hindus seems undoubted; only the other day Dr. C. Muthu, physician, Mendip

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Hills Sanatorium, Wells, England, speaking before the Royal Society of Medicine, said the Hindu civilisation was the most ancient in the world. Their literature dates back to about 4000 B.C. Their medicine is as old as their civilisation. They excelled in materia medica, and chemistry; they were amongst the first to practice the dissection of the human body. Many centuries ago they understood the germ theory, circulation of the blood, and inoculation for smallpox. Their treatment of leprosy was most efficacious, and their treatment of snake bites astonished Alexander the Great. Their surgery was bold and skilful, they set bones, performed internal operations, trephined the skull, and gave anæsthetics in serious operations. Surely those who have travelled extensively in ancient countries must have come to the conclusion that there is nothing new under the sun! But to return to our subject, when Alexander the Great had become master of Persia, he pushed forward his conquering forces to that part of Northern India known to us as the Punjab, and being compelled to return to Persia he proceeded by descending the Indus to the sea. As an outcome of this a good deal of information was collected and given to the world in a written form. The Admiral who brought the fleet down the river reported that "there were in India trees bearing, as it were, flocks, or bunches of wool, and that the natives made of this wool garments of surpassing whiteness." Coming down to a later period we find mention about the year 25 A.D. of the progress of cotton cultivation as far westward

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as the Persian Gulf, but as late as A.D. 1203 the Egyptians grew cotton only as an ornamental plant in their gardens, and up to the beginning of the seventeenth century they were importers and not cultivators of cotton.

So far it has been with the cotton plant of the eastern world with which we have dealt, and for many centuries of the Christian era none other was known to what is called the old world, but in 1492, when Columbus sailed westward in search of a sea passage to India and first reached land, the natives who came out in their canoes to meet his ships brought with them skeins of cotton yarn and thread for exchange. On proceeding further, to Cuba, he found the inhabitants clad in cotton cloth. It was also found that the Mexicans were a people who relied chiefly upon cotton clothing, having "neither flax, nor silk, or wool of sheep." The Greeks are said to have been acquainted with Indian calicoes two centuries before the Christian era, and the Romans a century later, but as late as the thirteenth century it was only as candlewick that we find it used in England, and there is no mention of its manufacture there until 1641.

### THE COTTON PLANT.

Cotton is the most important of the vegetable fibres in the world, consisting of cellular hairs attached to the seeds of various species of plants belonging to the Mallow order, and has been cultivated from time immemorial. It is now found widely distributed throughout the tropical and sub-tropical regions of both hemispheres, South

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America, the West Indies, tropical Africa, and Southern Asia are the homes of various members of the family, but the plants have been introduced with success into other lands, as is well indicated by the fact that, although no species is native to the United States of America, that country now produces five-eighths of the world's supply of cotton. This consideration should be an incentive to the extension of cotton growing in any part of the world where it can be carried on successfully. Under normal conditions in warm climates many of the species are perennial, but in the United States, for example, climatic conditions necessitate the plants being renewed annually, and even in the tropics it is often found advisable to treat them as annuals to ensure the production of cotton of the best quality, to facilitate cultural operations, and to keep insect and fungoid pests in check. As the plant advances towards maturity the hairs are flattened and twisted, which is of great economic importance, the natural twist facilitating the operation of spinning the fibres into thread or yarn. Cotton requires for its development six or seven months of favourable weather. It thrives in a warm atmosphere, even in a very hot one provided that it is moist. In about eight days to a fortnight after sowing the plant shows itself above ground, and shortly afterwards cultivation of the plant commences. As it grows it throws out flower stalks, at the end of each of which a flower bud develops. The blossom differs in colour in different kinds of the plant. In some, like that of the Sea Islands, it is pale yellow, but

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in others of the American kind it changes considerably, being first straw colour, then white, and afterwards pink; in two or three days the bloom is gone and a capsule appears, called a boll. Within this boll are cells, sometimes three, as in Egyptian, and in other four, as in American. This boll increases until it is about the size of a filbert, the outer case gradually becoming brown and hard, until at last it bursts into sections and is seen to contain in each cell a quantity of tufted cotton wool which is found to be growing around and attached separately to each seed contained in the boll. During the growing time the cotton plant encounters many risks arising from drought, excessive rain, or insect pests. Some idea of the enormous damage wrought by the attacks of these insect pests alone may be gathered from the fact that a low estimate made a few years ago placed the loss due to this cause in the United States at the astonishing figure of £12,000,000 annually. Stringent measures are being taken to try and combat this pest. When the harvest time arrives and the white fleeces are ready to drop from the bolls the cotton must be picked, which is done by hand. A picker can pick from 100 lbs. to 200 lbs. of seed cotton in a day. This operation is the most expensive in cotton production. The work is light, and can be effectually done by women and children, as well as men, but is tedious, and requires care. The plant continues to produce blooms as the earliest-formed bolls are ripening, so that it bears at the same time flowers and ripe bolls, and this necessitates the fields being picked over three times.



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The loss from careless work is very serious. The cotton falls easily or is dropped ; the careless gathering of dead leaves and twigs, and the soiling of the cotton by the earth or by the natural colouring matter from the bolls injure the quality. Great efforts have been made to devise picking machines, but as yet complete success have not been attained. There is little doubt that an efficient machine will ultimately be perfected, and this would probably lead to a great development of the cotton growing industry. One of the greatest difficulties the planter has to face at present is the insufficiency of labour at the picking season. This consideration always weighs with him in deciding the amount of cotton he is to sow. As the picking goes on the cotton gathered is taken to the ginneries where the fibre is separated from the seed. Up till 1870, or thereabouts, the cotton seed left over from what had to be saved for the next year's sowing, was regarded as a positive nuisance upon the American plantations. It was left to accumulate in vast heaps about the ginhouses to the annoyance of the farmer and injury to his premises. Cotton seed in those days was the object of so much aversion that the planters, after using a certain amount as manure, burned it or threw it into running streams as was most convenient. Now, the products of cotton seed have become important elements in the national industry of the United States. The main product is the refined oil. The residue after the oil is extracted is manufactured into cotton seed cake, or meal, and forms one of the most valuable feeding stuffs for



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cattle. But this does not exhaust its possibilities. Cotton seed hulls constitute about half the weight of the ginned seed. These hulls were found to be an excellent substitute for hay, no other feed being required, the only provision necessary being an adequate supply of water and an occasional allowance of salt. Many thousands of cattle are fattened annually in Memphis, New Orleans, Houston, etc., in this way at a remarkably low cost. The seed is far heavier than the cotton, and experience shows that 1,000 lbs. of seed are produced for every 500 lbs. of cotton brought to market. When the cotton leaves the ginning press it is in a very loose condition and has to be compressed into bales for convenience of export, large bale presses being worked by hydraulic power. Bales from different countries vary greatly in size, weight, and appearance, the American bale weighing 500 lbs., the Egyptian 700 lbs., and the East Indian 400 lbs., some being as low as 200 lbs. After being graded and further pressed the cotton bale is ready for export to the various countries where it is spun and manufactured into cotton goods of an infinite variety.

### GROWTH AND SPREAD OF THE INDUSTRY THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

One of the most notable features of the cotton industry is the remarkable development that has taken place in comparatively recent years. We have seen that its use has been known in India from time immemorial, and in various other eastern countries for many centuries, but it is impossible to ascertain with certainty the first beginnings of the

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trade in Europe. It existed in Spain in the tenth century, and no doubt quite as early in Italy and Greece. The first recorded import of cotton into England was in the thirteenth century, and quite as early imports took place into France through Marseilles. The first mention of the industry in connection with Germany, Holland and Switzerland was in the sixteenth century, and in Russia in the eighteenth. The first piece of British-made calico—that is, a fabric made entirely of cotton, was produced in 1783; prior to that date cotton yarn was used only for weft, the warp being supplied by flax or wool. The inventions in 1738 of Kay's "fly shuttle," in 1764 of Hargreaves' "spinning jenny," in 1769 of Arkwright's "water-frame," and in 1770 of Crompton's "mule," resulted in the industry advancing in England by leaps and bounds, followed very soon by a similar advance in other European countries. This development has gone on until now the world's cotton spinning spindles number about 142,000,000, of which Great Britain possesses over one-third, the remainder being distributed among the other twenty-one cotton manufacturing countries. The weaving branch of the industry has also increased correspondingly, with the result that at the present day cotton forms much the largest and cheapest portion of the clothing of the people of the world, and its manufactures include all grades of material from heavy coarse sailcloth to the finest lace.

### COTTON CROPS.

WEST INDIES. At the close of the eighteenth

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century the West Indies supplied 70 per cent. of the cotton imported into Great Britain, but owing to the competition occasioned by the rapid expansion of its culture in the Southern States of America, the imports gradually decreased, the plantars finding it more profitable to employ their labour and capital in the production of sugar and other articles. During the American War there was an increase in the number of bales imported from the West Indies, but after the close of the war the import rapidly fell away. It is, however, again increasing.

EGYPT. After the West Indies the chief supply a century ago came from the countries bordering on the Mediterranean, Asia Minor, Cyprus, etc., which has been largely increased since 1820 by the development of cotton growing in Egypt. Egyptian cotton has certain characteristics which cause it to be in great demand. These special qualities are its fineness, strength, elasticity, and great natural twist, which, combined, enable it to be used for very fine, strong yarns suited to the manufacture of the better qualities of hosiery, for mixing with silk and wool, and for making lace. It also mercerises well—a process by which cotton goods can be made to closely resemble silk in appearance. Nothing could be more conducive to the extension of cotton growing in Egypt and in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan than the recent visits of various delegations to that country, the last one being under the auspices of the International Cotton Federation. The reports of these delegations which have been issued show the great possibilities of improving the quality and

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greatly increasing the cotton crop of North-East Africa. The information given in these reports has been specially valuable at a time when the British Government has under consideration the guaranteeing of the interest on a loan of £3,000,000, to be raised by the Sudanese Government for the development of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan – a proposition which it is practically certain will be carried out. In his recent report on Egypt Lord Kitchener paid a high tribute to the value of the visit of the International Cotton Federation to that country.

**SOUTHERN STATES OF AMERICA.** The first import of cotton from the Southern States of America to England took place in 1784, and consisted of eight bags weighing about 12,000 lbs. In 1793 Eli Whitney invented the saw-gin, a much improved machine for detaching the cotton fibre from the seeds, and the cultivation of the plant increased rapidly, but it took America ten years to produce a crop of 100,000 bales, and thirty-five years to reach 1,000,000 bales. About thirty-five years ago the American crop was six and a half million bales, last year it had reached the vast total of 16,000,000 bales, so rapid has been the increase in more recent years. During this period there have been fluctuations in the crop of between two and three million bales, and the fluctuations in the price have been enormous. The American bale has been described in a standard American book on cotton as “the clumsiest, dirtiest, most expensive, and most wasteful package in which cotton or any other commodity of like value is anywhere put up.”

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Suggestions for its improvement were made by the Lancashire Private Investigation Commission, which visited the Southern States of America in 1906, which, if carried out, together with the consequent reduction in the cost of transport, would, it is estimated, result in a monetary saving of millions of pounds sterling annually. President Roosevelt, in referring to this Commission and to the subsequent International delegation which visited the cotton growing States the following year, said, that a great awakening has taken place as regards the cultivation and handling of cotton, and as a result reforms had been initiated. These reforms would probably have made much greater progress had they not been retarded by the opposition of trusts. Now, however, determined effort is on foot to prevent these organisations interfering with the legitimate development of trade, and it is fully expected that the movement for the improved handling and baling of the American cotton crop will ere long be much more in evidence.

EAST INDIAN. There has also been an immense extension of the East Indian crop within the last few years, and it is now nearly half as large as the present average American crop. The Secretary of the International Cotton Federation, who recently has made two extensive tours in India, reports that in a comparatively few years the Indian crop might possibly be doubled. In India everything needful for this increase of cultivation exists, suitable land and climate, an immense population, and excellent means of transport. Possibly a more speedy increase

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might be obtained from India than any other country. Indian cotton as grown at present is not suitable for the goods so largely produced in Lancashire, but if the staple were improved this might be altered. If there were even a great extension of the present quality of cotton it would be of advantage to the cotton using countries of the European continent where there might be a much larger consumption of it than at present. Sixty years ago the most beautifully fine muslins were exported from India made from cotton which must have been both spun and woven by hand and of necessity from a quality of cotton much superior to that at present grown there, but which has deteriorated so much that it would be quite impossible to produce such fine fabrics from the cotton now grown. There is very little doubt, however, that cotton of longer staple and better quality can be produced in India by careful seed selection and improved cultivation.

### PRESENT POSITION OF THE WORLD'S SUPPLY OF COTTON.

The average cotton crop of the world may now be estimated at considerably over 20,000,000 bales of an average weight of 500 lbs. each, or three times the quantity that was produced forty years ago, but still it is not enough for the world's ever-increasing requirements. It is of supreme importance that the supply of cotton should be increased, and it matters little from what country that supply comes so long as it is ample for the needs of the industry as a whole. The British Cotton Growing Associa-



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tion and similar Associations in the other European countries are all working to obtain these much-needed supplies from their colonies and dependencies.

### ORGANISATION AND FEDERATION.

It will readily be understood that an industry of such enormous dimensions and complexities, and employing in one way or another vast numbers of people, could not be carried on without conflicts between capital and labour. The disastrous results of these complications gradually led the way to combinations for self defence, first on the part of the workpeople by their Trade Unions, and more slowly of the employers with their Associations and Federations. In this way may be traced the first glimmerings of that sense of the need for co-operation and of the interdependence of the one upon the other upon which the whole welfare of the industry depends, a sense which is rapidly developing, as is evidenced by the extension of these amalgamations to International Federations which have more recently been formed—again the workpeople taking the lead.

Towards the end of 1903, and in the early part of 1904, the cotton industry of the world was brought face to face with a serious shortage of the raw material complicated by excessive speculation. It was strongly felt that this position could only be adequately met by general short-time working in mills in all parts of the world. The Swiss Association of Cotton Spinners readily consented to act along with the English Federation as joint conveners

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of a Conference, and in May, 1904, the opening meeting was held at Zurich, delegated representatives of the principal countries engaged in the European cotton trade being present. After serious discussion of the problems which had arisen it was soon apparent that community of interest demanded the establishment of a permanent organisation. The following year a second International Conference was held at Manchester and Liverpool, at which the delegates formally adopted the proposals of the Committee appointed at Zurich for the establishment of an International Federation with its headquarters in Manchester, whose object should be "to watch over and protect the common interests of the industry, and to advise Associations of the action to be taken against any common danger."

Other conferences of delegated representatives of the countries included in the International Federation have since been held in Bremen, Vienna, Paris, Milan, Brussels, Barcelona, and at The Hague. The work of the Employers' International Federation has proved more than anything else the necessity for providing for the continued development of this industry through the increase of population, and also the march of civilisation, there still being a very large proportion of the inhabitants of the globe that are only partially clothed, or not clothed at all. The work of the International Cotton Federation has been of incalculable benefit from an educational point of view, indeed, it is difficult to realise how this industry could have been conducted, especially during recent years, without such an



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organisation. Its educational work has brought home most forcibly to all the absolute necessity for international co-operation, the interdependence of the nations of the world, and the hopelessness of conducting successfully international industry and commerce unless by the friendly co-operation of the peoples of the world.

When the representatives of the cotton trade first met at Zurich many people thought such a Federation an impossibility on account of the diverse interests of the various nations assembled, but not only have all cotton using countries now either joined the Federation or co-operate with it, but the same enthusiasm which was displayed at the first meeting still continues, and the greatest harmony has always prevailed. It has also been proved that the interests of all these nations with regard to the industry are the same so far as general principles are concerned, and that if the interests of one country suffer the interests of the others will also suffer more or less.

The year after the International Cotton Federation was established another important organisation came into existence, the International Institute of Agriculture, which was initiated by the King of Italy on the recommendation of an American citizen, Mr. David Lubin. The world is greatly indebted to His Majesty for the bold initiative of summoning an International Conference for the purpose of founding this International Institute. The building in which the work is carried on is in Rome, and was erected at His Majesty's personal expense, and was

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formally opened in 1908. The Committee of the International Cotton Federation took an active interest in the Institute of Agriculture from its inception, and through its members did much to enlist the support of the Governments of the countries they represent in contributing to the annual cost of carrying on the work of the Institute. Its main purpose is to keep the world accurately informed of the condition of crops, in order that a deficiency in one quarter may be made good, and a surplus in another put to the best use. It has already been successful in issuing reliable statistics regarding the available supply of foodstuffs, and there is little doubt that in time it will be in a position to deal in the same manner with the raw materials of the textile industries. The International Cotton Federation has for some time collected and published statistics concerning the annual consumption of cotton and of the stocks of cotton in the hands of spinners, and in this way these two important international organisations work along similar lines, and a close bond of sympathy unites them in their work. Many notable receptions have been held by Heads of States in the countries where the annual meetings of the Federation, and meetings of the Committee have taken place. In addition to this numerous other important functions have also taken place; one of the most notable of these was a luncheon given by the British Government, at the House of Commons, in 1910, representatives of the cotton trade of the world being present, and a quotation from the address, delivered on that

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occasion by Sir Edward Grey, who has rendered such invaluable services during the recent international complications, forms a fitting conclusion to this paper. Sir Edward said :

“ The cotton industry is indeed one of the greatest industries in the world, great in size and importance. Great, I think, from whatever point of view you look at it. This Federation emphasises, not competition, not rivalry, but great points of agreement which this industry has promoted. As an International Federation of Cotton Spinners and Manufacturers you are perhaps doing, or at least contributing to, a greater work than you know. Your immediate object is the prosperity of the cotton industry, but I would hope that the ultimate end to which your thoughts are tending is to make felt among the nations a greater sense of the interdependence of the nations upon each other. I believe financial circles are feeling that already, and when all those connected in industry feel that also, then I think we may agree that the peace of the world is being assured.”



## APPENDIX B

### INTERNATIONAL DELEGATION TO AMERICA, 1907.<sup>1</sup>

#### SPEECH ON OPENING DAY OF CONVENTION AT ATLANTA.

MR. C. W. MACARA: I am quite unable to give adequate expression to our appreciation of the magnificent hospitality we have received from the moment we landed on the shores of America, and I can assure you that we are all deeply touched by the cordiality of our reception in your splendid city of Atlanta. This Conference, in which we have a representation of the whole of the cotton users of the world, will take a prominent place in the history of the cotton trade.

We Europeans have come here believing that by holding out the right hand of fellowship to the spinners and manufacturers of America and by joining with them in greeting the growers of our raw material much permanent good will result.

The position I have had the honour to occupy for many years in connection with the English Federation of Master Cotton Spinners' Associations, and, during recent years, in connection with the International Federation of Master Cotton Spinners' and Manufacturers' Associations, has rendered it necessary for me, in conjunction with my colleagues on the Committees of these two

1. Reprinted from the official report of the International Convention of Cotton Growers, Spinners and representatives of the Cotton Exchanges, held at Atlanta, Georgia, U.S.A.

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organisations, to devote much careful attention to the solution of many difficult problems as they have arisen in connection with the carrying on of the cotton industry as a whole. The results accomplished have been most encouraging ; and a perusal of the reports of the four International Cotton Congresses, which were held successively in Switzerland, England, Germany, and Austria, will show what the International movement has effected. I venture to express the opinion that no commercial movement in the past has commanded, in so short a time, so much attention in Government circles. The possibilities of commercial energy, enterprise, and organisation, aided by the support of the Governments of the countries interested, are unlimited. The Report of the Fourth International Cotton Congress is just issued both in America and Europe. A copy of this highly-interesting document has been provided for each delegate to this unique Convention of Cotton Planters and Spinners, and will, I hope, materially facilitate the discussion of the numerous important subjects which are to be dealt with. Such being the case, it is unnecessary for me to enlarge on these subjects.

The International Cotton Federation was formed to further the welfare of the world's cotton industry, and includes within the scope of its operations everything in which interests common to all are involved. An organisation with such aims cannot be successfully carried on except by working on the broadest lines, and with due regard to the legitimate interests of all who are engaged in the industry,

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whether they be the growers of the raw material, the legitimate middlemen who are responsible for the distribution of that raw material, the spinners, the manufacturers, or of any other interests that are dependent upon them.

All these are entitled to a fair remuneration for their labour and enterprise, and anything that interferes with the smooth working of an industry that concerns the welfare of many millions of people ought to be energetically dealt with by united action and removed.

Those I have just enumerated are necessary factors in the conduct of this great industry; but there are, unfortunately, people who are not engaged in any of these departments who are using the raw material of the industry as a counter for gambling operations.

Simultaneously with the Second International Cotton Congress, which was held in England in May, 1905, there met in Rome, at the invitation of the King of Italy, an International Congress of the representatives of many nations delegated by their Governments to discuss a scheme for bringing the agricultural interests of the world into line. The idea was conceived by Mr. David Lubin, an American citizen, who succeeded in getting the energetic and far-seeing King of Italy to take the initiative in a movement, the success of which is, I think, now practically assured. The International Cotton Federation, which is kindred in its aims, has cordially co-operated in the movement. In the light of what has been achieved, there is a fixed

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conviction in the minds of all who have taken part in the work that it is by international combination alone that the interests of any world-wide industry can be adequately safeguarded.

The first practical work of the International Cotton Federation was to endeavour to secure thoroughly reliable statistics of the annual consumption of the raw material and stocks in the hands of spinners at the middle and end of each cotton season, and as there are already returns obtained from the owners of about 100,000,000 spindles, it is expected that it will not be long ere a complete return from all the spindles in the world will be available. The International Institute of Agriculture has similar aims in view as regards furnishing reliable statistics of the supply of agricultural products, including, of course, cotton. When these two sets of statistics are available it is obvious that the work of the outside manipulator of prices will be rendered extremely difficult, if not impossible.

The American cotton crop plays such an important part in the supply of the world's needs that operations which affect it practically affect, more or less, the entire crop of the world, and when consideration is given to the colossal dimensions of the world's cotton crop, and to the fact that the raising of the annual average price by illegitimate speculation by even one cent per pound represents £18,000,000 (\$90,000,000), it must be obvious that it is time that some determined effort was made to rid the industry of this serious and unnecessary burden.

It is impossible to imagine any more important



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work, or one in which growers and spinners can more readily join hands, as it is inimical to the interests of both that such colossal sums should be extracted by those who neither grow cotton nor manufacture it, nor, indeed, render any actual service in the distribution of the raw material or its manufactured products.

Cotton planters have been urged from time to time to hold for extreme prices, but it is doubtful if the adoption of such advice would in the long run be to their advantage. It must never be lost sight of by the growers that this staple supplies the clothing for the poorest people of the world in every country, and that applies more particularly to the 700,000,000 in India and China, to whom a great rise in price certainly means a limitation of their purchasing power, with a consequently reduced employment for the spinners and manufacturers of the world, upon whom the growers of cotton are dependent. It has been the aim of all engaged in the manufacturing of cotton for many years to reduce the cost of production by taking full advantage of science and invention, and great economies have been effected. I think it would be well if this example were followed by the growers of our raw material.

In addition to the saving which might be effected by the suppression of outside manipulation, very great economies might also be effected in the cost of growing, handling, and marketing cotton, as is made evident in the Report issued by the Lancashire Private Cotton Investigation Commission, which



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will be found in the appendix in the Report of the Fourth International Cotton Congress.

The great majority of people who are engaged in the growing of cotton and its manufacture are too much occupied with the concerns of their own business to have followed the enormous development of the cotton industry. Thirty years ago the total crop of the United States was only about 4,500,000 bales. Now America herself is using annually 5,000,000 bales out of a crop of 13,500,000. The crops of the other cotton growing countries have also increased largely and all the cotton has gone into consumption.

With the spread of civilisation, coupled with the success of the efforts which are now being made to reduce the possibilities of war, it is not, I think, taking too sanguine a view to assume that the progress of the next thirty years will be in a much greater ratio than that of the past thirty years. With such prospects before us, it is essential that we should encourage, in every way, the enterprise of all who are endeavouring to make provision for the ever-increasing demand for the raw material of an industry that plays so important a part in the clothing of the people of the world.

Great efforts have been made during recent years to develop cotton growing in the Colonies and Dependencies of European nations, and many enthusiastic views are expressed with regard to the progress that will be made in these new countries. Although I am of opinion that the experience of America in the early years of the cotton growing

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industry will probably be repeated, and that the progress will be slow, there is little doubt that any attempt on the part of the American growers to maintain prices at an abnormally high level will have the effect of giving an increased stimulus to these efforts, and progress may consequently be much more rapid than under normal conditions.

What is equally important, however, in the interests of the cotton industry as a whole, is that prices of the raw material should not be reduced to a level which will not adequately remunerate the growers. We shall certainly have, as in the past, bad seasons alternating with good, but as cotton, unlike most other agricultural produce, can be stored for years without deterioration, it would surely be wise and prudent, in times of over abundance, to establish a reserve for years of partial failure, which would also have a steadying effect on prices.

I should like to emphasise that taking into consideration the magnitude of the interests involved, the risks to which the cotton plant is exposed, and the prospects of the continued development of the world's cotton industry, we should be short-sighted indeed if we did not take energetic measures to increase our supply of the raw material, to broaden the basis of that supply, and likewise give attention to the establishment of a reserve in years of abundance as an insurance against years of partial failure and all the suffering which this entails. I quite appreciate the great difficulties which surround the creation of a reserve, but when difficulties are

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resolutely faced it is wonderful how they can be overcome.

I quite agree with His Excellency the Governor of Georgia, Mr. Hoke Smith, that this part of the world is specially suited to grow cotton, but we must see that we have a sufficient quantity of it.

In 1904, it was my duty to lead a movement by which the cotton industry of England reduced the hours of labour in the cotton mills from  $55\frac{1}{2}$  to 40 per week. The reduction was continued for twelve months. Our operatives heartily co-operated with us, and by our action we saved a disaster of the first magnitude. Had we not had the foresight and the organisation to take this step, there is no doubt that by the month of May there would not have been a bale of American cotton available for the mills of England. By our action we reduced the price of cotton which had been raised to a fictitious figure by speculation, we tided over a year of a short crop, and we prevented a great disaster. I estimate that including cotton operatives, operatives of subsidiary industries, and the dependants of both, 2,500,000 people would have been deprived of the means of livelihood had this organised reduction of working hours not been adopted. With such an experience I urge that we must have a great increase in the supply of our raw material wherever that increase can be effected.

In conclusion, important as are the objects of this Convention which has brought the men of so many nationalities together, it is even more important as affording another demonstration of how much the

## DELEGATION TO AMERICA

interests of all nations are bound up together. The more fully this can be realised, the greater will be success of the efforts which are happily being put forth by exalted personages, and the governments of the world, to remove international jealousies, to settle international disputes by arbitration, and to promote peace and goodwill among men.



## APPENDIX B 1

### ROOSEVELT CORRESPONDENCE.

The White House, Washington,  
October 18th, 1907.

My Dear Sir,

I feel a very deep personal interest in the important matter which has brought to our shores so large and distinguished a body of cotton manufacturers from the principal nations of Europe. So far as I understand the plans and purposes of the International Federation of Cotton Spinners, of which you are the President, you aim to promote stable conditions in your great industry throughout the world ; and your visit to the United States more especially aims to bring the world's cotton manufacturers into closer touch and sympathy with our own cotton producers, upon whom you depend for three-quarters of your supplies of raw material. It seems to me an elementary truth that if our cotton planters can learn more definitely and at first hand, as your trip proposes, the exact needs of the manufacturer, in the matter of the preparation and shipment of the raw cotton, and can aim to conform thereto, the result will be quite as much to their benefit as to yours. You will find great changes in progress here, and an almost universal interest throughout the cotton belt in the matters that interest you ; and I hope and believe that you will return to your homes not only

## ROOSEVELT CORRESPONDENCE

pleased with our country, but encouraged to believe that your visit will bear immediate fruit.

It is a source of regret to me that engagements made long since rendered it impossible to receive your delegation during your sojourn in Washington, and to say to you by word of mouth what I now take great pleasure in writing.

Sincerely yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Mr. C. W. Macara, President,  
International Federation of Master Cotton  
Spinners' and Manufacturers' Associations.

22, St. Mary's Gate, Manchester,  
November 6th, 1907.

The Hon. Theodore Roosevelt,  
President of the United States of America.  
My Dear Sir,

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your valued letter of October 18th.

The interest which you have shown in the aims of the International Federation of Master Cotton Spinners' and Manufacturers' Associations, under whose auspices the Delegation, representing the cotton-using countries of Europe, visited America, will be a matter of intense satisfaction, not only to the Delegation itself, but to every member of the International Federation.

The Convention which was held at Atlanta on October 7th, 8th, and 9th, was the most remarkable gathering ever held in connection with the cotton

## ROOSEVELT CORRESPONDENCE

industry, as it embraced Representatives of American and European Spinners, of the Cotton Exchanges of the world, and of the Cotton Planters of the Southern States of America. It undoubtedly marks an epoch in the history of the cotton industry.

As stated in your letter, the International Cotton Federation aims at the promotion of stable conditions throughout the world for the cotton industry, and I feel certain that it is impossible to overestimate the benefit which will accrue to one of the greatest international industries by the frank interchange of opinion which took place at the Atlanta Convention.

The opportunities afforded of receiving and imparting information, throughout the tour of the Southern States, must also be productive of great benefit both to the producers of the raw material and to the cotton spinners and manufacturers.

We certainly found wherever we went in the United States that great changes are being inaugurated, and we have returned home feeling that your wonderful country possesses unlimited resources in many respects, and especially in regard to the production of cotton. We believe our visit will have in some measure stimulated the Cotton Planters to take fuller advantage of their splendid opportunities.

We shall always remember with pleasure the hearty welcome accorded to us wherever we journeyed. The hospitality and kindness of the American people were overwhelming.

Our chief regret on leaving the United States was

## ROOSEVELT CORRESPONDENCE

that we had not the honour and pleasure of meeting you, whose services to humanity have evoked so much admiration throughout the world.

I am,

Yours faithfully,

C. W. MACARA,

Chairman of Committee : International  
Federation of Master Cotton Spinners'  
and Manufacturers' Associations.

*Extract from a letter addressed to Mr. C. W. Macara,  
from His Excellency the Right Hon. JAMES  
BRYCE, O.M., British Ambassador at  
Washington.*

"The international importance of the Cotton Federation, and the fact that the centre of organisation is Manchester, gives it a claim on the representatives of my Sovereign, King Edward, who has personally on more than one occasion expressed his interest in the objects of the Federation. I have instructed His Majesty's Consuls in the cities to be visited in your journey to extend every assistance to the delegates.

"October 4th, 1907."





## APPENDIX C

### EGYPT, 1912.

#### ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL COTTON FEDERATION AT ALEXANDRIA.<sup>1</sup>

Sir CHARLES W. MACARA, Bart., said : This International Delegation<sup>2</sup> which has come to visit your wonderful country is representative of one of the most remarkable commercial movements the world has ever seen. The International Cotton Federation was founded in 1904 in a crisis brought about by the inadequate supply of the raw material, and since then my colleagues and I have been received by the Head of every State in which Congresses or Committee meetings have been held, as well as by many of the principal ministers of state. I think it is a very hopeful sign that the highest personages in the world are devoting their attention to the promotion of the peaceful pursuits of industry. I have been surprised by the amount of information on commercial subjects which is possessed by those who occupy the highest positions, and perhaps their knowledge is to some extent attributable to the fact that our reports are forwarded to them under the

1. Reprinted from the official report of the visit of the Delegation of the International Federation of Master Cotton Spinners' and Manufacturers' Associations to Egypt, Oct.—Nov. 1912.

2. The Delegates travelled by a special train through the Nile Delta.

## EGYPT, 1912

auspices of the British Foreign Office. That has given to our movement a prestige which no other commercial movement has ever had.

### INTERNATIONAL INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE.

I now propose to deal with the consideration of international trading from the standpoint of practical experience. Many discussions are conducted by those who have not had opportunities for gaining the practical experience that my public work during the past 20 years has enabled me to acquire. This public work has necessitated the taking of a comprehensive view of the international industries which provide the main factors in the two essentials of existence, viz., food and clothing, and the two are inseparably bound up together.

When King Edward VII and Queen Alexandra received and entertained the Committee of the International Cotton Federation at Windsor Castle in 1906, his Majesty, in referring to the establishment of the International Institute of Agriculture, expressed the hope that it would, when fully developed, be of service to the cotton and kindred industries which were so dependent for their raw material upon the tillers of the soil. This hope is being realised.

### INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION IN AGRICULTURE AND INDUSTRY.

It has been my privilege to be associated with the inauguration of two international organisations which have played an important part in bringing

the nations of the world into friendly co-operation, the first being the International Federation of Master Cotton Spinners' and Manufacturers' Associations, initiated at Zurich in 1904, with its headquarters in Manchester, and embracing, either in its membership or in co-operation with it, nearly all the countries where cotton is grown or manufactured; the other is the International Institute of Agriculture, which, on the recommendation of an American citizen, was initiated and promoted by the King of Italy, and has its headquarters in Rome. In the International Institute of Agriculture no fewer than 49 States are co-operating. As president of the International Federation of Master Cotton Spinners' and Manufacturers' Associations I was appealed to in the initial stages of the International Institute of Agriculture to render whatever assistance was possible towards the promotion of this world-wide movement, an appeal which I at once responded to, recognising that it would be of immense service to all the textile industries of which cotton is the chief. I feel pleased that France, England, and Germany were among the first of the great nations to support, in the order named, the King of Italy's scheme to promote the welfare of the agriculture of the world. Since then these two international organisations have worked hand in hand, and each succeeding year emphasizes the view that they are destined, not only to promote the material welfare of the inhabitants of the globe, but by the dissemination of a vast amount of information regarding the conduct of the industries, which,

## EGYPT, 1912

as I have said before, provide the essentials of life, an educational work is being carried on which is demonstrating most forcibly the entire interdependence of the nations of the world. When the Committee of the International Cotton Federation was entertained by the British Government at the House of Commons in 1910, Sir Edward Grey, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in commending the work of the International Cotton Federation, said that when the interdependence of the nations was fully realised the peace of the world will be assured. It is impossible to estimate the value of the wide distribution of the reports of the work of these international organisations, which has been done most extensively, the annual reports being published in the best known languages and circulated throughout the world. In all the countries in which Congresses, or meetings of the International Cotton Committee, have been held, the work has received the personal recognition of the heads of the States, and the cordial support of prominent statesmen.

In this connection I might say that another international movement which is rapidly assuming large dimensions has been established. I refer to the International Federation of Textile Workers, a movement that is equally demonstrating the interdependence of the nations.

### THE CLOTHING OF NINE-TENTHS OF THE WORLD.

In a paper which was read at the seventh International Cotton Congress held in Brussels in 1910, the magnitude of the possibilities of the cotton industry was brought out. This industry supplies

## EGYPT, 1912

nine-tenths of the clothing of the world's inhabitants, and it is estimated that out of a population of 1,500,000,000 only 500,000,000 are completely clothed, 750,000,000 are partly clothed, and 250,000,000 are not clothed at all. Such figures show the vastness of this international industry and the possibilities of its development. It is obvious that this can only be effectively carried out by international enterprise, and the educational process which is being prosecuted is showing the growers of the raw material the immense possibilities of the development of their industry to meet the ever-increasing demand for cotton clothing. In addressing the cotton planters of the Southern States of America at the International Convention held in Atlanta, Georgia, in 1907, in order to counteract the view they took that the higher the price they could get for cotton the better their interests were served, I pointed out to them that the consumers of cotton goods were adversely affected by a great enhancement in the cost of their clothing, which had the further effect of reducing the consumption of cotton goods and the employment for the cotton mills of the world. I further pointed out to the planters that their best interests lay in the scientific cultivation of the soil, thus increasing the yield per acre, which would enable them to secure adequate remuneration and yet to sell cotton at a considerably lower price. This, together with better handling and marketing, which further reduces expenses, would ultimately tend to the prosperity of the growers, the manufacturers, the workers, and the

## EGYPT, 1912

users of cotton clothing. The mere enumeration of these considerations proves what can be accomplished by friendly discussion among the representatives of the nations, demonstrates the interdependence of the nations, and shows how each can contribute to the prosperity of all. In writing to me subsequently, President Roosevelt referred to the great awakening that was taking place in the United States as a result of two previous visits of a Lancashire Commission of cotton experts, and of the Conference with the cotton planters at Atlanta.

### THE OPEN DOOR.

Under normal conditions the demand for cotton productions is practically unlimited. During recent years the supply of raw cotton has been short of the world's requirements, and the price has consequently ruled high. Although England holds so commanding a position in the cotton trade of the world, yet her policy has always been to maintain the open door wherever her influence extends. All nations are thus placed on an equal footing with England in meeting the demand for these commodities. Among the principal aims of the International Cotton Federation are the development of the cultivation of cotton in all parts of the world where it can be grown successfully and on a commercial basis, compiling statistics regarding the industry, and establishing Courts of Arbitration to promote the smooth working of international trading. Panels have already been appointed in most of the countries included in the Federation. The International Institute of Agriculture encourages the

## EGYPT, 1912

more scientific cultivation of all crops, and also publishes reliable statistics regarding the crops of the world and their consumption.

The interests of all who cultivate the soil, as well as of all who manufacture raw materials into clothing, the distributors and consumers, have to be considered. For example, the cotton planter must get an adequate price to remunerate him for his labour and enterprise, but this does not necessarily mean a high price. Scientific methods of cultivation may enable the grower to sell his commodity at a moderate price, which will pay him for his increased production just as well as a high price did formerly. A moderate price of raw cotton enables the manufacturer of cotton goods to sell his productions also at a moderate price, and this in its turn results in a greater consumption of cotton clothing, which increases the employment for the cotton mills of the world.

### THE VISIT TO EGYPT.

It is obvious that if the industries which provide the essentials for the human race are to be conducted with the breadth of vision necessary for their success, the nations of the world must work together for greater efficiency, and in doing this there need be no greater rivalry between nations than there is between individuals. Individual and national rivalry have always existed, and with nations, just as with individuals, it is those who display the greatest energy and resource who are the most successful. This delegation, representing the principal European nations and Japan, is visiting Egypt for



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the purpose of encouraging by its presence the work which is being carried on by the Khedive, the Egyptian Government, and by that able administrator, Lord Kitchener. Primarily, this work is in the interests of the Egyptians themselves, but all cotton-using countries will also benefit.

All other industries are supplementary or subsidiary to those which provide food and clothing, and upon the successful conduct of industry depends the provision for the defensive forces of the nations of the world.

### INDUSTRIAL AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS.

From many years' experience in dealing with the relationship between capital and labour, I am firmly convinced that strong and efficient organisation on both sides is the best means for promoting mutual respect and for dealing successfully with industrial disputes. There is no doubt that where such organisation exists disputes are more likely to be settled harmoniously than where one side is weak and the other strong, or where both sides are imperfectly organised. I consider also that the intercourse which takes place between the representatives of capital and labour tends to a better realisation of the difficulties of each, and, above all, to bring home forcibly the fact that their interests are not antagonistic, but that they are identical, and that many difficulties can only be surmounted by co-operation. On the other hand, it becomes apparent as time goes on that industrial strife is against the interests of both capital and labour.

What applies to the conduct of industry applies



equally to the relationship between the nations of the world. Here again practical experience is of the utmost value, and the working of the two international organisations with which I have been associated has proved conclusively that it is possible for the representatives of the numerous nations of the world to meet together in friendly conference, discuss problems that concern the welfare of all, and that are impossible of solution except by the co-operation of all. The successful and harmonious work of these organisations shows that, notwithstanding the great increase of armaments, the peoples of the world are friends at heart.

International trade demonstrates the dependence of the nations upon one another. I may quote, as an example, the trade between England and Germany, which approaches, in round figures, £120,000,000 annually; that between England and France is about £80,000,000 annually. Then England uses about half the crop of cotton which is grown in Egypt, the other half being distributed amongst the other cotton-manufacturing countries of the world.

So far as finance is concerned, the interests of all countries are also closely interwoven, but these considerations, colossal as they are, would be far exceeded in dire consequences in other directions should there be other serious complications. Indeed, to anyone who fully realises the basis on which industry and commerce exist, it must be apparent that it would be impossible to emerge from war without irreparable loss, not only to combatants but

to non-combatants. I fear, speaking generally, that statesmen and diplomats have little opportunities for gauging the terrible effects war would have upon the ever-increasing intricacies connected with the carrying on of industry and commerce, and the absolute chaos that would be produced. It would be well if there were more intercourse between them and the leaders of industry and commerce, so that they might by this means realise more fully the vast issues that are involved, which would certainly tend to the exercise of greater care in the discussion of difficulties as they arise. In the carrying on of the international movements to which I have referred, all the nations have worked perfectly harmoniously. At these international gatherings it is impossible to detect racial jealousies or that the delegates belong to so many different nations. Indeed, the deliberations are animated throughout by a desire to deal with the industries as a whole, it being fully realised that each nation is simply carrying on its own part of international industry, and that all should combine in facing problems which can only be successfully dealt with by combination.

## THE VALUE OF ROUND TABLE CONFERENCES.

With such experiences I am at a loss to understand the constantly recurring jealousies and misunderstandings between nations, which I cannot help feeling are magnified by writers who do not realise the gravity of the issues with which they are dealing. Mischief is so often brought about by want of thought in dealing with industrial strife, which in a minor degree has the same disastrous

results as would be brought about by war, that it is earnestly to be desired, for the welfare of humanity, greater care will be exercised in the future.

Having presided over numerous conferences that have taken place in connection with the disputes which have occurred in the cotton industry of England during the past 20 years, I can testify to the immense value of the round table conference, both in the settlement of disputes and the prevention of industrial strife, and I feel certain that the adoption of a similar course, pursued assiduously in international disputes, would generally lead to a settlement and prevent recourse to war.

I do not share the Utopian views which are frequently expressed regarding disarmament, much as their realisation is to be desired. Changes in the existing state of affairs, in my opinion, cannot be brought about rapidly or without much patient educational work. As an advocate of the thorough organisation of capital and labour, I am also an advocate of thorough efficiency in the defensive forces of the nations. At the same time I firmly believe that eventually, with the advance of science and the spread of civilisation, together with international co-operation to promote greater efficiency in carrying on the world's work, ample employment will be found for all, which would tend to remove national jealousies, and thus help materially to ensure the peace of the world.



## APPENDIX C I

### THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SUDAN.

#### BRITISH GOVERNMENT REQUESTED TO GUARANTEE A LOAN OF £3,000,000.

A Deputation of the British Cotton Growing Association waited upon the Right Hon. H. H. Asquith, Prime Minister, in London, on January 23rd, 1913, for the purpose of requesting the Government to guarantee a loan of £3,000,000 for the development of the Sudan. The Prime Minister was accompanied by the Right Hon. Sir Edward Grey, Bart., K.G., Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the Right Hon. D. Lloyd George, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the Right Hon. Sydney Buxton, President of the Board of Trade. The Deputation was introduced by the Earl of Derby, G.C.V.O., C.B., President of the Association, and the other speakers were the Duke of Marlborough, K.G., and Sir Charles Macara, Bart., Vice-Presidents, Mr. J. Arthur Hutton, Chairman of the Council of the Association, and Mr. A. H. Gill, M.P., one of the members of the Council, representing the operatives in the cotton industry. The speeches were businesslike and impressive. Sir Charles Macara, who dealt with the subject from an international standpoint, said :—

## DEVELOPMENT OF THE SUDAN

The position I have occupied in the cotton industry during the last 20 years, both nationally and internationally, has necessitated a careful study of all the problems that have to be faced in carrying on this great industry, which plays such an important part in clothing the people of the world. Since the British Cotton Growing Association was inaugurated I have taken a very deep interest in the work it has carried on, and although it has been quite impossible for me to share in carrying on its every-day work I have never lost an opportunity of advocating its claims, and have done what I could to secure financial support from the Members of the Federation of Master Cotton Spinners' Associations, of which I am the President. The British Cotton Growing Association has appealed to me in a variety of ways, perhaps none more forcibly than its having given an object-lesson to the world of friendly co-operation between the representatives of capital and labour in promoting a movement for the benefit of the industry, upon the success of which both are equally dependent. I have on many occasions referred to this with pride in addressing meetings of business men in numerous parts of the world. Moreover, in connection with the work of the International Cotton Federation, one of the aims of which is to develop the existing cotton fields and to open up new cotton fields in any part of the world where this can be done successfully, the work of the British Cotton Growing Association has always had a prominent place in the annual reports, which have been printed in the best known languages and circu-

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lated throughout the world. In this connection it has been a source of much satisfaction to me in meeting Ministers of State in the countries I have visited to hear from them the great assistance they have received in developing cotton growing in the colonies of these countries from the experience they have gained by perusing the reports of the International Cotton Federation.

### THE PROBLEM TO BE SOLVED.

Any narrow views that I may at one time have entertained have been completely dispelled by the experience I have gained in visiting the principal countries that share with England the carrying on of the cotton industry of the world, and I have come to the conclusion that it matters little where cotton is grown, but the great problem that has to be solved is that there should be sufficient cotton to meet the rapidly-developing requirements brought about by the march of civilisation and the increase of population. It must be remembered that still a large proportion of the people of the world are only partially clothed or not clothed at all. The price of raw material for carrying on the cotton industry is a most important factor, and when I state, what I have frequently stated before, that an increase of  $2\frac{1}{2}$ d. per pound on the world's cotton crop means £100,000,000, it will be seen that this is a serious factor in the prosperity of the industry, as it reduces the consumption of cotton clothing, which is the clothing of the poorer people of the world, and by so doing it is obvious that the employment of the mills is also reduced. The position to-day is that

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cotton, through anticipated scarcity of supply, is over 2d. a pound above what it was 12 months ago. It must also be remembered that scientific cultivation is a great factor in increasing the yield and so reducing the price at which the planter can sell his cotton and retain a satisfactory profit. It was decided by the Committee of the International Cotton Federation in June last that a delegation representing the countries included in the Federation should visit Egypt in November to study the conditions under which the Egyptian crop is grown, handled, and marketed, and the developments that are going on. This delegation was on the same lines as the one which visited the cotton-growing States of America in 1907. The report of the delegation to Egypt will be issued very shortly, but I may say that all the delegates were immensely impressed with the splendid agricultural methods which are in vogue in Egypt, and the magnificent resource that is displayed by the Khedival and the British agricultural societies by taking advantage of scientific methods and also in reclaiming land, this work being carried on under the direction of Lord Kitchener, who, I may say, is enthusiastic about the possibilities. My colleagues and I were immensely impressed with what is going on, and are convinced that an early and considerable increase in the supply of Egyptian cotton is practically assured.

### THE MAGNITUDE OF THE COTTON TRADE.

In addition to meeting Lord Kitchener and his staff and some large agriculturists, I also met in



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Cairo, Sir Reginald Wingate, the Sirdar, and had a most cordial invitation from him to visit the Sudan, which unfortunately I was unable to accept. It was arranged, however, that the Secretary of the International Cotton Federation should go to the Sudan, and his report is now being printed and will be issued shortly : it will amplify and endorse everything that the Chairman of the British Cotton Growing Association has said. Indeed, I have the utmost confidence, with such men as Lord Kitchener, Sir Reginald Wingate, and others, that the development of cotton growing in Egypt and the Sudan will solve more rapidly the problem of increasing the supply of cotton than could be done in some of the other parts of the world where new cotton fields are being developed, and at the same time will be of immense benefit to these countries. I hope that a broad view will be taken by the British Government of the proposition that has been placed before them to-day. It must never be overlooked that although other countries are developing their cotton industry, England has developed much more rapidly than any of them, and that practically all the countries of the world are customers of England for cotton goods, that England's cotton industry depends for about three-quarters of its employment on export trade, that cotton goods represent about one-third of the total exports of manufactures, that the cotton which can be produced in Egypt and the Sudan is of the utmost importance to England, as she consumes more of this class of cotton for her fine manufactures than all the other countries of the



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world combined. I would like to mention that the British cotton industry provides directly the livelihood for millions of people and indirectly for millions more. In conclusion, I would like to emphasize that Egypt has spent enormous sums in the development of the Sudan, and the time has certainly come when England must materially assist in this direction. I hope that all these matters will receive the serious consideration that they certainly deserve.



## APPENDIX C 2

### RECEPTION BY VISCOUNT KITCHENER AT THE BRITISH AGENCY AT CAIRO.<sup>1</sup>

On Nov. 4th, 1912, the delegates drove to the British Agency, on the banks of the Nile, where they were received by Field-Marshal Viscount Kitchener of Khartoum, British Agent and Consul-General.

After having a private conversation with Sir Charles Macara in his room, and after receiving the members of the Committee, Lord Kitchener led the way to the terrace, where the whole of the delegates were introduced to him. At the conclusion of this ceremony, Lord Kitchener, after offering a hearty welcome to his visitors, said :—

I hope your inspection of the cotton industry in its centre here will be profitable not only to yourselves but to Egypt also. Your secretary last year gave us a very valuable report on his visit. In that report there were many hints which have done a great deal to improve the work out here in regard to cotton cultivation. I am sure we all owe him a debt for the trouble he took in making that report. I hope your present visit will increase our knowledge. You have had opportunities of seeing the qualities of the fellah who cultivates the soil, and I think if he would pay a

<sup>1</sup> Reprinted from the official report of the visit of the Delegation of the International Federation of Master Cotton Spinners' and Manufacturers' Associations to Egypt, Oct.—Nov 1912.

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little more attention to the cotton when it is being picked and being stored, and would discriminate a little better in the seed which he uses, we should have more improvements. I have no doubt that will come. I think it will come perhaps through the small purchaser in Egypt, who goes round and buys in the various places where cotton is produced. If we can get the fellaheen to take their cotton to more general centres, and the small merchant to know better the quality of the cotton and to buy only the best, the fellah will know it is no use to produce an article which is inferior. That experience will teach him much better than we can tell him. The small merchant now buys up all he can, regardless of quality, but if we can get a better price for the good cotton, and encourage means of discriminating between good and bad, it will be good for the fellah; he will learn that it is worth his while to cultivate the best article.

As regards seed, the Director-General of the Agricultural Department is making experiments in new seed, and we should like your advice as to two new qualities of seed which we have got. I am sure if we know exactly what you want we shall be able to produce it. We have only got a very small quantity of the seed so far, and it will, I think, take five years, during which the greatest care will have to be paid in our Agricultural Department, to enable the seed to go out freely into the country, and to be of use to you. It is just as well to know at once that we are on the

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right lines. I hope some of you will give us an opinion as to whether these two products of our work for some time now in seed cultivation are really what you want. I hope you will give a better price. One of the great requirements of Egypt is a good price for cotton, and we look to you to keep it up. If we do all we can to produce the article which you require we ask you to keep it at a good price, so that our people shall be happy and anxious to produce the cotton which you require.

SIR CHARLES MACARA said : On behalf of my colleagues and myself, I want to thank your Lordship most heartily for the reception which you have accorded us to-day at a time when heavy responsibilities, arising from a disturbed state of Eastern Europe, rest upon you. Since we arrived in Egypt we have had the most hospitable reception. The arrangements have been splendid. Everything has passed off without a hitch. Here we have seen exactly the opposite of what we saw in America in 1907, when we travelled 4,600 miles through the Southern States. We were distinctly disappointed to find that America, which we all thought was an up-to-date country, was very far behind in agricultural methods. In Egypt we have been immensely struck by your methods, and by the possibilities that lie before you. And I can assure you that it is a matter of supreme interest to the cotton industry of the world that Egypt should extract from the soil as much cotton as possible. Egyptian cotton is used for the purpose of making the highest class of

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cotton fabrics, England taking half the crop and other nations the other half. This branch of the cotton industry is developing much more rapidly than any other branch, possibly because we now produce cotton fabrics which only an expert can differentiate from silk. For these fabrics the best of cotton is required, and where the quality is good there is no reason why the price should not be good also.

As for the cotton trade in general, we should like to see all possible steps taken to improve the cultivation of cotton. On experimental farms in America we saw land which had been producing half a bale an acre, with very little extra expense, under scientific cultivation producing three-quarters of a bale an acre. Our desire is to pay the planter a fair price, and at the same time to keep the cost of the raw material moderate. A moderate price encourages a larger consumption of cotton goods than is the case when the cost is excessively high, as it has been for the last few years. I do not think there is anything to which your Lordship can devote your great abilities more important than the encouragement of the growth of cotton in Egypt. Cotton growing will largely benefit the people, and we are very anxious that the natives should have full remuneration and full encouragement to cultivate cotton and to improve its quality as much as they can. The object of the International Federation is to promote smooth relationships between those who carry on the growing of the raw material, and those who manufacture it. We want to create confi-

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dence, and I think there is nothing more likely to do that than that those who spin and manufacture should come into contact with those who grow the raw material. There are very great difficulties in the cultivation- we get to know that wherever we go and there are also great difficulties connected with the manufacture. The more intercourse there is between those engaged in the industry the more likely we are to be successful. My motto always has been "Live and let live." We want all to do well. I assure you that our reception here to-day has given great satisfaction to my colleagues and myself, and we thank you heartily for receiving us.

LORD KITCHENER: I should like to refer to one other point the question of drainage. We hear very often that the land in Egypt has generally deteriorated. That is not the case. The land is as good as it was, but in places it has become water-logged, and a great many acres have gone out of cultivation or have very much reduced their acreage under cotton, owing to the water-logged state.

On that account the Government is taking up a big scheme of drainage. That scheme has to be on a very large scale, otherwise it would be useless, and I have no doubt the effect of it will be to add a very much larger area to the land under cotton cultivation than there has been in the past. Work of that sort, of course, takes many years to accomplish: four or five years will elapse before the results will be apparent. If you come again in five years or so we hope we shall be able to show you a much bigger area under cultivation, and perhaps better

## VISCOUNT KITCHENER

produce than is now being cultivated. The amount we now turn out per feddan is about five cantars, a very good proportion. I do not think you will get it in any other country in the world. This year we shall have a bumper crop, I think. I don't think we have ever had as much cotton as we shall have this year. I do not know exactly what it will be, perhaps under 8,000,000 cantars, and if next year we go on increasing I suppose it will help you all in your manufactures. I am very glad to have seen you, and hope you will enjoy your visit to Egypt.



### APPENDIX C 3.

#### TEXT OF ILLUMINATED ADDRESS.

TO CHARLES WRIGHT MACARA, Esq.

DEAR SIR,

We, the undersigned, on the occasion of the assembly in Paris of the Fifth Annual International Congress of Delegated Representatives of Master Cotton Spinners' and Manufacturers' Associations, desire to express to you, and to place on permanent record our high appreciation of the many invaluable and voluntary services which you have rendered to the Cotton Industry of the World.

The experience which you have acquired as President of the English Federation of Master Cotton Spinners' Associations since 1894 has eminently qualified you for leading recent International movements, and in referring to these movements we specially desire to record the prominent part you took in the initiation of the International Federation of Master Cotton Spinners' and Manufacturers' Associations in 1904, the exceptional ability which you have displayed as Chairman of the Committee of that Organisation from its inception; and your Presidency of the Second International Congress which was held in Manchester and Liverpool in 1905, when the International Federation was formally constituted.

We desire, further, to record our sincere appreciation of your compliance with the unanimous wish of the Committee of the International Cotton



## ILLUMINATED ADDRESS

Federation that you should organise and lead the Delegation representing European Cotton interests which attended the Atlanta Conference last Autumn, and which subsequently made the tour of the Cotton growing States of America. The Atlanta Conference was, we consider, the most comprehensive international assembly of the various sections of the Cotton interests ever called together, there being present Representatives of the Cotton Planters' Associations of the Southern States of America; of American and European Associations of Cotton Spinners and Manufacturers; and of the Cotton Exchanges of the World.

We recognise that these International Movements with which you have been so prominently associated, have been of inestimable benefit to all engaged in the Cotton industry, that they have not only created a deep impression upon the Governments of the Countries specially interested in the personal recognition of Sovereigns and Heads of States wherever the International Meetings have been held, but that they have fostered friendly relations amongst the peoples of many nations and have, in a marked degree, contributed to the promotion of International peace and goodwill.

We are, dear Sir,

Yours faithfully,

Paris, June 1908.

JOHN SYZ,

President, First International Cotton Congress, Zurich, 1904; Vice-Chairman, International Cotton Committee, representing Switzerland; President, Schweizerischer Spinner- Zweiner- und Weber-Verein, Switzerland.

## ILLUMINATED ADDRESS

### CASIMIR BERGER,

President, Fifth International Cotton Congress, Paris, 1908; Joint Hon. Treasurer, International Cotton Committee, representing France, Syndicat Général de l'Industrie Cotonnière Française, Paris, France.

### C. O. LANGEN,

Joint Hon. Treasurer, International Cotton Committee, representing Germany, nominated in succession to the late Herr Ferdinand Gross, President of the Third International Cotton Congress, Bremen, 1906; President, Verband Rheinisch-Westfälischer Baumwollspinner, M. Gladbach, Germany.

### ARTHUR KUFFLER,

President, Fourth International Cotton Congress, Vienna, 1907; Member of the International Committee, representing Austria; President, Verein der Baumwollspinner Oesterreichs, Vienna, Austria.

### HENRY HIGSON,

Member of the International Committee, representing England; President, North and North-east Lancashire Cotton Spinners' and Manufacturers' Association, Manchester, England.

### SENJIRO WATANABE,

Member of the International Committee, representing Japan; the Japan Cotton Spinners' Association, Osaka, Japan.

### JEAN DE HEMPTINNE,

Member of the International Committee, representing Belgium; President, Association Cotonnière de Belgique, Ghent, Belgium.

### B. W. TER KUILE,

Member of the International Committee, representing Holland; Nederlandsche Patroonsvereniging van Katoenspinners-en-wevers, Enschede, Holland.

### JACINTO MAGHALHAES,

Member of the International Committee, representing Portugal; President, Associação Industrial Portuense, Oporto, Portugal.

### N. CHR. NIELSEN,

Delegate representing Norway; President, Bomuldsspindernes og Vævernes Gruppe i De norske Tekstilfabrikanter Forening, Christiania, Norway.

## ILLUMINATED ADDRESS

### **COSTANZO CANTONI,**

Member of the International Committee, representing Italy; President, Associazione fra gli Industriali Cotonieri e Borsa-Cotoni, Milan, Italy.

### **EDUARDO CALVET,**

Member of the International Committee, representing Spain; President, Cotton Section, Fomento del Trabajo Nacional, Barcelona, Spain.

### **RUD. PROWE,**

Delegate representing Russia at the Zurich Congress, 1904, Moscow, Russia.

### **S. M. JOHNSON,**

Delegate representing India at the Bremen (1906) and Paris (1908) Congresses, Cawnpore, India.

### **S. A. O. NORTH,**

Director Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce and Labor, Washington, D.C., United States of America.

### **WM. D. HARTSHORNE,**

President, The National Association of Cotton Manufacturers, Boston, Mass., United States of America.

### **THEOPHILUS PARSONS,**

President, Arkwright Club, Boston, Massachusetts, United States of America.

### **JAMES R. MACCOLL,**

President, International Convention of Cotton Growers, Spinners, and Manufacturers, Atlanta, Georgia, 1907; Past-President, The National Association of Cotton Manufacturers, Boston, Mass., United States of America.

### **S. B. TANNER,**

President, American Cotton Manufacturers' Association, Charlotte, N.C., United States of America.

### **HARVIE JORDAN,**

President, Southern Cotton Association (Planters); and President, Sea-Island Cotton Association (Planters), Atlanta, Ga., United States of America.



## APPENDIX D.

### DEPUTATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF MASTER COTTON SPINNERS' AND MANUFACTURERS' ASSOCIATIONS TO THE MOST HON. THE MARQUESS OF CREWE, SECRE- TARY OF STATE FOR INDIA.

Lord Crewe, who was accompanied by Sir Thomas Holderness, K.C.S.I., Permanent Under-Secretary of State for India, and by Mr. Francis C. Drake, Secretary of the Revenue and Statistics Department, received the Deputation in the India Office on July 22nd, 1913, at three o'clock in the afternoon.

The Deputation consisted of the following Members of the International Cotton Federation :— Sir Charles W. Macara, Bart. (President), J. B. Tattersall, C. O. Langen, C. Berger, Jean de Hemp-  
tinne, S. Watanabé, S. M. Johnson, J. F. Bradbury, N. M. Gokuldas, Gordohandas Khauta, J. W. McConnel, S. Newton (Ashton-under-Lyne), J. Hilton (Oldham), J. Thorpe (Oldham), R. Worswick (Rawtenstall). And the following Lancashire Members of Parliament: E. R. B. Denniss, M.P. for Oldham; A. W. Barton, M.P. for Oldham; Dr. Charles Leach, M.P. for Colne Valley; T. C. Taylor, M.P. for S.E. Radcliffe; P. Wilson Raffan,

## DEPUTATION TO

M.P. for Leigh; Major the Hon. G. F. Stanley, M.P. for Preston; A. A. Tobin, K.C., M.P. for Preston; A. H. Gill, M.P. for Bolton; H. Nuttall, M.P. for Stretford.

Sir Charles W. Macara, Bart., introducing the deputation, said :

My Lord Marquess,—

This is the fourth occasion on which an International delegation has waited upon the Secretary of State for India for the purpose of urging as strongly as possible the necessity for everything being done that can be done to improve the quality and extend the cultivation of cotton in India.

The International Federation of Master Cotton Spinners' and Manufacturers' Associations includes in its membership, or has, in co-operation with it, practically all the cotton growing and cotton manufacturing countries of the world; and it has become increasingly evident that the problems connected with the supply of the raw material of the world's cotton industry can only be dealt with effectually by international co-operation.

Five-eighths of the cotton crop of the world is provided by the United States of America, and it is from India that the next largest supply comes. The present season's crop of Indian cotton, it is estimated, will amount to 6,000,000 bales of about 400lbs. each, and when I mention that the cotton crop of the world now averages over 20,000,000 bales of an average weight of 500lbs. each, it will show what an important factor the Indian cotton crop is in the supply of the raw material for this

## THE MARQUESS OF CREWE

industry, which plays the chief part in clothing the people of the world.

The development in the cultivation of Indian cotton has been very marked during recent years, and if the present season's crop reaches 6,000,000 bales, as it anticipated, its total value at the present prices will amount to something like £50,000,000.

I attribute much of this increased cultivation to the educational work that has been carried on throughout the world by the International Cotton Federation, and which has brought about co-operation between cotton growers and cotton manufacturers and the Governments chiefly concerned in the welfare of this great international industry. In this connection I would like to acknowledge the valuable co-operation of your Lordship's Department, together with that of the Government of India.

Statistics show that the cotton crop of the world is now about three times greater than it was 35 to 40 years ago, but notwithstanding this remarkable development, it is obvious to those who study future requirements, that the extension of the cotton fields of the world must proceed much more rapidly than has been the case, if the raw material is to keep pace with the demand for cotton goods. It is therefore apparent that in India, which, owing to exceptional circumstances, is capable of much more rapid development than any other part of the world, no effort should be spared to bring about this much-needed development. A study of the Annual and the special Reports, issued by the International

## THE MARQUESS OF CREWE

Cotton Federation since its inauguration in 1904, will show that this important subject has received a large share of attention, and that an adequate supply of Indian cotton is a matter of supreme interest, not only to India itself, but to Japan, Germany, France, Italy, and Belgium, and to a smaller extent to Lancashire. But no narrow view of the question must be taken, for the greater the supply of cotton from India for those countries which can use it largely, the greater will be the quantity of those other qualities of cotton more suitable to the requirements of the English cotton industry which is engaged in producing a much larger proportion of the finer qualities of goods than other countries, which are exported to practically all the countries of the world.

At the Ninth International Cotton Congress, which was held in Holland last month, the International Committee decided that the International Secretary should make a third visit to the cotton growing districts of India during the autumn of this year. I feel sure your Lordship will again extend to him the generous assistance which so facilitated his work on the occasion of his two previous visits.





## APPENDIX E

### THE INDUSTRIAL COUNCIL.<sup>1</sup>

The great industrial upheaval which we have been experiencing has led to the suggestion of various remedies for mitigating or preventing a recurrence of such a state of things. There is no subject of more vital importance to the national welfare than that of the maintenance of harmonious relationships between Capital and Labour.

Those who occupy the foremost positions in our great industries, on the side of both Capital and Labour, have heavy responsibilities, and it is necessary that these responsibilities should be adequately realised, as the welfare of the nation depends to a great extent upon these industries being conducted in a statesmanlike manner, especially in view of their interdependence. It is impossible for one of the half-dozen great staple industries to be paralysed without the others being more or less seriously affected. Much has recently been said about the repudiation of agreements entered into between Capital and Labour, but I hold that in most cases where repudiation has taken place it is largely due to the absence of proper organisation. I think it can be proved that where

<sup>1</sup> Contributed by Sir Charles W. Macara, Bart., to the "Financial Review of Reviews," Oct. 1911.



## THE INDUSTRIAL COUNCIL

the organisations on both sides are efficient it is exceedingly rare that agreements have not been loyally kept.

Many years have passed since I first advocated the establishment of a tribunal for dealing with deadlocks in labour disputes. Until recently this advocacy was carried on without publicity, and although I had had for some time grave misgivings as to the industrial position, I scarcely expected such a demonstration as we have recently experienced.

Although for many years I have occupied the prominent and onerous position of President of the Master Cotton Spinners' Federation, the proposals which I have made for the settlement of labour disputes have been launched in my private capacity. These proposals were addressed simultaneously to prominent members of all industries. This I have done largely through the co-operation of the heads of the principal municipalities, which have assisted me in ascertaining the views of leaders of Capital and Labour in their respective localities.

Except when specially requested to do so, I have not approached the organisations of either employers or workmen, as the scheme does not interfere in any way with the public-spirited and absolutely necessary work of those organisations or of the Conciliation Boards which have been established. Its purpose is to deal with deadlocks, and only when all existing means of settlement have failed. During my twenty years' connection with the cotton trade employers' organisations I have had a wide experience of all the anxieties attending

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industrial disputes in this great industry; most of these disputes have been settled, but some have been fought to the bitter end, involving acute suffering to the workers, great losses to the employers and to the community as a whole.

No matter how complete the arrangements may be for dealing with industrial disputes, they sometimes fail to effect their purpose, and the parties resort to a trial of strength. When this takes place each side stands on its dignity, fearing that an advance towards conciliation may prejudice its position; hence the necessity for the creation of a new, impartial, non-political Government Department to deal with these deadlocks.

Let me by way of illustration explain the modus operandi of dealing with disputes in the cotton spinning industry. In November, 1892, a dispute arose which led to a cessation of work of the Federation Mills for twenty weeks. This was eventually settled by an Industrial Treaty which has since been known as the Brooklands Agreement.

This agreement declares in its preamble that "the representatives of the employers and the representatives of the employed hereby admit that disputes and differences between them are inimical to the interests of both parties, and that it is expedient and desirable that some means should be adopted for the future whereby such disputes and differences may be expeditiously and amicably settled and strikes and lockouts avoided."

All matters of difference likely to arise in the carrying on of the industry are provided for with

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much minuteness, yet there is one vital flaw in this Agreement, viz., that it does not provide for deadlocks. This Agreement has for eighteen years regulated the negotiations between employers and operatives in the spinning branch of the cotton industry.

As in most industries any lengthened dislocation arising in one section causes the others eventually to stop, so in an industry of such magnitude as the cotton industry, which, in addition to providing for our home requirements, represents one-third of our total exports of manufactures, a lengthened dislocation has a most serious effect upon all industries, and indeed upon our national welfare.

The Brooklands Agreement has formed a basis of most of the agreements which have been entered into, since it was formulated, between employers and employed in the other staple industries. Supported on both sides by strong organisations, the Brooklands Agreement has been faithfully kept, although differences of opinion as to the reading of some of its clauses have arisen from time to time. Where a clause has been shown to operate inequitably as between one side and the other, amendments have been made. The satisfactory working of this Agreement is shown by the fact that although disputes have frequently reached an acute stage, only on two occasions has an entire rupture occurred, both being brought about by one section of the operatives, but affecting the whole industry. This is a vast change from the eighteen years prior to the signing of the Brooklands Agree-

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ment, when strikes and lockouts were very frequent. Had this state of things continued, there is little doubt that half the cotton trade of England would have been lost.

Some particulars of the operation of the Brooklands Agreement in dealing with disputes may be interesting.

If a grievance in any particular mill occurs and the complaint of the operatives cannot be satisfactorily dealt with by the employer, the secretary of the local Employers' Association and the local Trade Union secretary immediately take the matter in hand with a view to satisfactorily settling the dispute. If they fail, a small Joint Committee of the local Associations on both sides is summoned. The meeting must be held within seven days, and is attended by three representatives from the respective associations of employers and operatives along with their secretaries. Should these fail to arrive at a settlement, the matter is then taken out of the hands of the local Associations and referred to the Operatives' Amalgamation and the Employers' Federation, and a joint meeting, which must be held within seven days, is arranged, and the dispute is adjudicated upon by an entirely different joint committee.

In the case of disputes affecting the trade as a whole, these are dealt with by the Employers' Federation on the one hand and the Operatives' Amalgamation on the other. A joint meeting for the discussion of the complaint or demand must

## THE INDUSTRIAL COUNCIL

be held after the stipulated month's notice is given by either side.

With the other regulations which have to be observed a considerable time must elapse before a crisis is reached either in a local or general dispute.

At the close of a general dispute in 1905, in the spinning section of the cotton industry, a clause was added to the terms of settlement which bound both sides to meet for the purposes of formulating a scheme for the regulation of wages according to the state of trade. A scheme for this purpose was afterwards formulated which provides three sets of experts, who are not only independent of the employers and operatives, but are each independent of the other, the first dealing with the purchase of the raw material, the second with the sale of the yarn, and the third with the gross margin arrived at between the price paid for the raw material and the price obtained for the yarn, and from this, to ascertain, after deducting all the expenses (which vary according to the time under review), what return is left on the capital employed, and whether a rise or fall in wages in accordance with the Brooklands Agreement is warranted. It will be seen that all speculation for a rise or fall in the market is entirely eliminated. The Brooklands Agreement does not admit of more or less than a 5 per cent. rise or fall in wages at a time. After an experimental test of this scheme had been made at mutually selected mills, it was agreed there should be no change of wages for five years from July, 1910, and that when a change was made, either up

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or down, it should be made for two years, instead of twelve months as originally provided for by the Brooklands Agreement.

In an industry so highly technical as that of cotton spinning only those engaged in the industry can be expected to have either the knowledge or the experience which would entitle them to give an opinion upon technical points of dispute when they arise, but this last process for dealing with a dispute regarding the rise or fall in wages from which the greatest fear of deadlock is to be expected, would materially assist an Industrial Court to arrive at an equitable decision. Notwithstanding everything that has been done there is always a possibility of a break-off of negotiations, therefore means must be found for trying to prevent a strike or lockout beginning, or for bringing the disputants together when this occurs for the purpose of settling the dispute, and this is where the work of the proposed Industrial Court would begin. In the cotton spinning industry the intervention of third parties has never been popular either with employers or operatives. Where intervention has taken place, the good offices of the third parties have been confined almost entirely to convening a conference of the disputants when they had broken off. Disputes have always ultimately been settled by negotiations carried on between the parties themselves. The interdependence of industries and the suffering inflicted by a strike upon such a large proportion of the community who have no voice in the dispute renders it necessary that sooner



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or later intervention in a dispute in one of the staple industries must come if the disputants themselves will not agree to a settlement. This being the case, I contend that it would be to the benefit of everyone—employers, workers, and the community at large, if an industrial court existed to which reference could be voluntarily made when a deadlock in the negotiations has ensued.

In July last, during the dispute in the various transport trades, I ventured for the first time to make public the plan which I had, until then, been advocating privately, to prevent if possible the recurrence of such an industrial upheaval as that from which we were then suffering—an upheaval which completely paralysed the trade of the greatest commercial centre of the world, involving enormous loss to the community, and causing intense suffering amongst the poor, the families of the strikers being perhaps the greatest sufferers.

Briefly, the scheme which I have proposed would involve the creation of a new department, with a permanent non-political chairman, deputy, and staff, together with an advisory body consisting of the men both on the side of Capital and Labour who hold the most prominent positions in connection with the staple industries of the country, men who have had to deal with the general disputes which have occurred from time to time in these industries. Of course the proposed advisory body would only be called together in the event of a deadlock arising in disputes affecting the staple industries, which are interdependent and which seriously

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affect the national welfare. Smaller disputes would be dealt with by the permanent official staff.

The work of this new department is not intended to interfere in the slightest degree with the existing organisations of employers or workmen or existing Conciliation Boards. I am, and always have been, entirely in favour of collective bargaining. I want to see both the employers' and the workmen's organisations as strong as possible. What my scheme suggests is that when efficiently organised bodies come to a deadlock in negotiations over a disputed matter they should take their case before a tribunal capable of giving an impartial decision. My proposals follow the lines of the Brooklands Agreement in the cotton industry. The dispute would be taken for the time being out of the hands of the combatants. They would be free to accept the offices of the independent tribunal and state their case to men representing the widest experience of both Capital and Labour. There is no suggestion of arbitrarily enforcing that tribunal's decision. On the contrary, both parties will have perfect freedom to reject or accept it, and my proposals contain nothing to prevent the employers ultimately declaring a lockout or the workmen coming out on strike. What the tribunal would ensure is that the matters in dispute would have calm and dispassionate consideration, and as a consequence the finding of the tribunal would carry great weight.

Before such a tribunal as I suggest, I am convinced that genuine grievances would receive a fair hearing and exorbitant demands would be con-



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demned. Capital and Labour each has its rights, which in the interests of both must be respected.

The publicity given to my scheme evoked the widest support in the press, and there have been many advocates of its adoption. On July 17th last, Mr. Asquith (Prime Minister), replying to a question by Mr. G. N. Barnes (Blackfriars Division, Glasgow), said:—

“ My attention has been called to the letter<sup>1</sup> to which my honourable friend has referred. I can assure him that any feasible and properly supported plan which might tend to prevent or shorten industrial warfare would receive the earnest attention of the Government.”

With a view to obtaining support for proposals which I felt sure would commend themselves very generally, I put myself into communication with the heads of the great municipalities throughout the United Kingdom, inviting their co-operation and through them the support of prominent representatives of Capital and Labour in their localities. In a very short time I found that my proposals were viewed with sympathy all over the country.

Although this work was begun and has had to

<sup>1</sup> The letter referred to was written by me to the Lord Mayor of Manchester on July 10th last, dealing with the subject. I was much aided at the commencement of my work by the Lord Mayor of Manchester (Mr. Chas. Behrens), who not only heartily endorsed the proposals but lent his great influence to secure their adoption. The admirable letter which he wrote me in support of the scheme must have produced a deep impression upon the other chief magistrates whose co-operation was invited.

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be carried on during the principal holiday season of the year, the response has been of the most encouraging character. The heads of many of our large municipalities, captains of industry and commerce, and many of the best known labour leaders in the great industries, have signed the memorial in favour of my proposals, and I am receiving additional support daily, on the return to business after the holidays, from those who were unable to respond on account of absence.

On August 15th, by invitation of the Prime Minister and the President of the Board of Trade, the Presidents of some of the most important federations of employers met at 10, Downing Street, for an informal exchange of views on the industrial position, and later in the day a corresponding meeting of leading representatives of the large trade unions was also held. Although considerable disappointment has been expressed that no announcement of the result of these meetings has yet been issued, I have it on the highest authority that the Government is giving the most careful consideration to the whole question of the amicable settlement of industrial disputes.

Various schemes, including the Bill promoted by Mr. Will Crooks, M.P., have been brought forward for the settlement of labour disputes. In most, if not all of these, there is an element of compulsion. My long experience has taught me that compulsion is not practicable. Although by the adoption of compulsory measures there may have been some degree of success in the colonies, it must not be lost

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sight of that the industries there are of small dimensions compared with those in the United Kingdom.

I have been informed that in Australia, where a strike had been declared and carried on in direct opposition to the law, the strikers marched in procession declaring that they had broken the law with intent, asking the authorities at the same time to lock them up. It will be readily seen that even with a body of 10,000, or perhaps 20,000 men, how impossible was the situation in Australia. How much more would it be with industries employing hundreds of thousands of workmen.

As an illustration of the interdependence of industries, I might cite the instance of how seriously the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway Company is affected by a prolonged dispute in the cotton industry, and *vice versa*. A dispute in the transport services has recently had the effect, not only of stopping 20 million spindles, but of paralysing two of the greatest distributing centres in the world—Manchester and Liverpool. The effects of the dispute are to be found in the enormous pecuniary loss which the community has suffered.

I have tried to show that the creation of an Industrial Tribunal is a matter of supreme importance to the national welfare, and it is to be hoped that everyone will realise the absolute necessity for providing efficient means for dealing with our industrial position as a whole.

In conclusion, I will summarise the main points of my scheme and the advantages which would accrue if my proposals were put into operation :—

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1. The most experienced men connected with the conduct of the great industries, and representing both Capital and Labour, would be brought into close personal contact.

It is clear to me that if we are to maintain our industrial and commercial pre-eminence, those representative men must take a more prominent position than they have done hitherto in dealing with the great problems affecting both industry and commerce.

2. To the Industrial Tribunal could be referred all problems for dealing adequately with the industrial position as a whole.
3. All industries are interdependent, and individual industries are frequently paralysed by disputes arising with one section of that industry.
4. Efficient organisation, on both sides, being necessary for the conduct and smooth working of all industries, it follows that recognition by representatives of Capital of the right of workmen to combine and to confer is essential.
5. Experience in the past has proved that there is little chance of agreements being repudiated when both sides are efficiently organised.
6. Conversely, when either the employers' or workmen's organisations are inefficient the repudiation of both leaders and agreements may follow.

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7. It is doubtful if any legal enactment could be formulated which could compel large bodies of men to work if they decided not to work, and, equally, no law could be formulated which could compel them to keep agreements entered into between representatives of Capital and Labour.
8. A fair hearing of a case in dispute by an impartial tribunal, and the publicity given, if necessary, to the hearing and to the award, would ensure the redress of just grievances on the one hand, and the resistance of unreasonable demands on the other.
9. The great "third party," which includes not only the organised workers in other trades, but the army of unorganised workers, and the innumerable commercial and other interests which would be seriously prejudiced by a strike or lock-out, would join forces in their denunciation of either a strike or lock-out which was entered upon without the matter in dispute being referred to the Industrial Tribunal, or in the event of non-acceptance of the award, after submission to the Tribunal.

This power, together with the support of the Press, exercised against a strike or lock-out entered into and continued without applying to the Court, or against the Court's award, would be the most powerful

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influence that could be exerted in terminating such a dispute, and it would go far to render both strikes and lock-outs unnecessary.

10. Interference with the right to strike or to lock-out would probably seriously militate against the efficiency of the organisation of both sides. All that can be done is make it extremely difficult for the dislocations to occur.
11. It must always be remembered that the adoption of my proposals would not interfere with any existing organisation of employers or workpeople, or with any conciliation board. The Industrial Tribunal would only be brought into operation when these had failed to effect settlements.

C. W. MACARA.

### ADDENDA.

After the publication of the foregoing article in the FINANCIAL REVIEW OF REVIEWS the following statement was issued by the Board of Trade,<sup>1</sup> dated October 10th, 1911:—

His Majesty's Government have recently had under consideration the best means of strengthening and improving the existing official machinery for settling and for shortening industrial disputes by which the general public are adversely affected. With this end in view, consultations have recently

1. Government Blue Book Report on Enquiry into Industrial Agreements. Cd. 6952. 1913.

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taken place between the Prime Minister and the President of the Board of Trade, and a number of representative employers and workmen specially conversant with the principal staple industries of the country and with the various methods adopted in those industries for the preservation of peaceful relations between employers and employed.

Following on these consultations, and after consideration of the whole question, the President of the Board of Trade, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, has established an Industrial Council representative of employers and workmen. The Council has been established for the purpose of considering and of inquiring into matters referred to them affecting trade disputes; and especially of taking suitable action in regard to any dispute referred to them affecting the principal trades of the country, or likely to cause disagreements involving the auxiliary trades, or which the parties before or after the breaking out of a dispute are themselves unable to settle.

In taking this course the Government do not desire to interfere with but rather to encourage and to foster such voluntary methods or agreements as are now in force, or are likely to be adopted for the prevention of stoppage of work or for the settlement of disputes. But it is thought desirable that the operations of the Board of Trade in the discharge of their duties under the Conciliation Act, 1896, should be supplemented and strengthened, and that effective means should be available for referring such difficulties as may arise in a trade to investiga-



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tion, conciliation, or arbitration, as the case may be.

The Council will not have any compulsory powers.

The following gentlemen, in their individual capacity, have accepted Mr. Sydney Buxton's invitation to serve on the Council:—

### EMPLOYERS' REPRESENTATIVES.

Mr. George Ainsworth.—Chairman of the Steel Ingot Makers' Association.

Sir Hugh Bell, Bt., J.P.—President of the Iron, Steel and Allied Trades Federation, and Chairman of the Cleveland Mine Owners' Association.

Sir G. H. Claughton, Bt., J.P.—Chairman of the London and North-Western Railway Company.

Mr. W. A. Clowes.—Chairman of the London Master Printers' Association.

Mr. J. H. C. Crockett.—President of the Incorporated Federated Associations of Boot and Shoe Manufacturers of Great Britain and Ireland.

Mr. F. L. Davis, J.P.—Chairman of the South Wales Coal Conciliation Board.

Mr. T. L. Devitt.—Chairman of the Shipping Federation, Limited.

Sir Thomas R. Ratcliffe Ellis.—Secretary of the Lancashire and Cheshire Coal Owners' Association and Joint Secretary of the Board of Conciliation of the Coal Trade of the Federated Districts, etc.

Mr. F. W. Gibbins.—Chairman of the Welsh Plate and Sheet Manufacturers' Association.

Sir Charles W. Macara, Bt., J.P.—President of the Federation of Master Cotton Spinners' Associations.

Mr. Robert Thompson, J.P., M.P.—Past President of the Ulster Flax Spinners' Association.



## THE INDUSTRIAL COUNCIL

Mr. Alexander Siemens.—Chairman of the Executive Board of the Engineering Employers' Federation.

Mr. J. W. White.—President of the National Building Trades Employers' Federation.

### WORKMEN'S REPRESENTATIVES.

Right Hon. Thomas Burt, M.P.—General Secretary of the Northumberland Miners' Mutual Confident Association.

Mr. T. Ashton, J.P.—Secretary of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain and General Secretary of the Lancashire and Cheshire Miners' Federation.

Mr. C. W. Bowerman, M.P.—Secretary of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress and President of the Printing and Kindred Trades Federation of the United Kingdom.

Mr. F. Chandler, J.P.—General Secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners.

Mr. J. R. Clynes, J.P., M.P.—Organising Secretary of the National Union of Gasworkers and General Labourers of Great Britain and Ireland.

Mr. H. Gosling.—President of the National Transport Workers' Federation and General Secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Watermen, Lightermen, and Watchmen of River Thames.

Right Hon. Arthur Henderson, M.P.—Friendly Society of Ironfounders.

Mr. John Hodge, M.P.—General Secretary of the British Steel Smelters, Mill, Iron, and Tinplate Workers' Amalgamated Association.

Mr. W. Mosses.—General Secretary of the Federation of Engineering and Shipbuilding Trades and of the United Pattern-makers' Association.

Mr. W. Mullin, J.P.—President of the United Textile Factory Workers' Association and General Secretary of the Amalgamated Association of Card and Blowing Room Operatives.

Mr. E. L. Poulton.—General Secretary of the National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives.

Mr. Alexander Wilkie, J.P., M.P.—Secretary of the Shipyard Standing Committee under the National Agreement of 1909 and

## THE INDUSTRIAL COUNCIL.

General Secretary of the Shipconstructive and Shipwrights' Society.

Mr. J. E. Williams.—General Secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants.

Additions may be made to the above list.

The members of the Council will in the first instance hold office for one year.

Sir George Askwith, K.C.B., K.C., the present Comptroller-General of the Labour Department of the Board of Trade, has been appointed to be Chairman of the Industrial Council with the title of Chief Industrial Commissioner, and Mr. H. J. Wilson, of the Board of Trade, to be Registrar of the Council.



## APPENDIX E 1.

### INDUSTRIAL UNREST.

#### INQUIRY BY THE INDUSTRIAL COUNCIL.

The following is an extract from the *Times* report of the proceedings in the House of Commons, June 14th, 1912 :—

Sir G. Toulmin (Bury, Lancs.) asked the Prime Minister whether he had any statement to make in regard to any action which the Government proposed to take with reference to industrial unrest.

Mr. Asquith : From the experience derived from the industrial disputes which have lately occurred, it has become evident that one of the chief difficulties in the way of peaceful and friendly relations between employers and men is the want of effective methods for securing the due observance of industrial agreements by both sides. Further, where agreements are come to between employers and workmen in regard to conditions of employment, the agreement, though binding on those who are parties to it, is not binding on the whole of the trade or district.

These matters affect the employers and the workmen alike, and it seems essential to ascertain—(1) what is the best method of securing the due fulfilment of industrial agreements; (2) how far industrial agreements which are made between repre-

## INDUSTRIAL UNREST

sentative bodies of employers and of workmen should be enforced throughout the particular trade or district.

The Government are anxious to have inquiry made into the matter, and to receive advice from those best qualified to give it. In these circumstances they propose to refer the above question to the Industrial Council, which is representative of the employers and of the men in the great industries of the country ; to request the Council carefully to consider the matter ; to take such evidence as they may think fit ; and to report to the Government any conclusions to which they may come. The view of the Government has been strengthened by the following resolution of the Industrial Council, who considered the matter yesterday :—

“ The question of the maintenance of industrial agreements having come before the Industrial Council, that Council are of opinion that this subject is of the highest importance to employers and trade unions and workpeople generally, and would welcome an immediate inquiry into the matter.”

The resolution was agreed to unanimously.

The Government are, therefore, requesting the Industrial Council to undertake the inquiry, and they will give the most earnest attention to any recommendations which the Council may be able to make.

Mr. Bonar Law (Lancashire, Bootle): Do we understand that the terms of the reference to the Council will strictly limit them not merely to an inquiry as to the best means of getting agreements

## INDUSTRIAL UNREST

carried out, but to the consideration of the proposals made by the Government? Will the reference be wider than is indicated in the right hon. gentleman's answer?

Mr. Asquith repeated the terms of the reference.

Mr. Bonar Law : Does not the second head of the reference limit the Industrial Council rather more than is desirable? Would it not be better to leave it to the Council themselves to consider the best method of inquiry?

Mr. Asquith : It is intended that they should. If the right hon. gentleman thinks that the words are not adequate for the purpose, I will have them remoulded. I quite agree that should be within the purview of the inquiry.

Mr. Ramsay Macdonald (Leicester, Lab.) : Will the Industrial Council have power to spend money in the furtherance of this inquiry; will the Industrial Council itself sit as a committee of inquiry; and is it the intention of the Government that the evidence taken will be published as well as the report of the Industrial Council?

Mr. Asquith : In regard to the first point, whatever funds are necessary will be placed at the disposal of the Industrial Council. I take it that they will hear relevant evidence from whatever quarter it is tendered. As to the publication of the evidence, that is a question which had better be considered later. The Government will consult with the Industrial Council, and I will give a reply on Monday.

Mr. Clynes asked whether the settlement of the

## INDUSTRIAL UNREST

Transport Workers' dispute was not delayed or prevented by the refusal of the employers to meet the men.

Mr. Asquith : I hardly think that arises out of my answer. As I stated two days ago, so far as the Government are concerned, our good offices are available.

In the House of Commons on June 18th :—

Mr. Ramsay Macdonald (Leicester, Lab.) asked the Prime Minister whether it was proposed that the Industrial Council was to take evidence in the inquiry into industrial agreements in public; and whether that evidence was to be published.

Mr. Asquith : I am informed that the Industrial Council are of opinion that the hearing of any evidence which the Council may take upon the matter referred to them should be open to the Press, and the notes of the evidence ultimately be published.<sup>1</sup>

1. This enquiry occupied 38 long sittings, 92 witnesses were examined, and a Parliamentary Blue Book (665 pages) was issued. Minutes of Evidence taken before the Industrial Council in connection with their Enquiry into Industrial Agreements. Cd. 6953. 1913.



## APPENDIX E 2.

### CAPITAL AND LABOUR :

#### MEANS FOR PROMOTING INDUSTRIAL PEACE.<sup>1</sup>

(Paper read by Sir Charles W. Macara, Bart., before the British Association for the Advancement of Science, on Wednesday, September 8th, 1915.)

The subject we have to-day met to discuss—viz., the relationship between Capital and Labour—is one of supreme importance at any time, but more especially so at a time of national crisis such as that through which we are at present passing.

In the early days of the war, I was one of those approached by representatives of the Government regarding the effect the war would have upon industry, and what could be done to minimise the dislocation that was certain to ensue and to keep the work-people employed as much as possible.

Recognising the colossal task with which the Government was confronted, and that it was essential that the assistance of the most experienced practical men should be taken advantage of, I strongly advocated that all existing organisations of capital and labour, and indeed of every kind, should be at once brought into requisition in preference to forming new ones to deal with the crisis. There is ample correspondence to prove, and resolutions have been passed and published shewing that this supremely important matter has been urged on

1. Reprinted from "Credit, Industry and War," 1915, edited A. W. Kirkaldy, M.A.

## CAPITAL AND LABOUR

the Government without avail. Everyone who has had experience of such work will realise that creating new organisations cannot be efficiently carried out without expenditure of much time and labour, whereas it is comparatively easy to adapt existing organisations to deal with great and sudden emergencies—and time is an all-important factor.

Having visited many of the principal countries of the world, and having studied their methods of working, this country is as well organised as any, but the Government has not understood how to utilise existing organisations as they should have done, and in this respect we have been placed at a disadvantage with enemy countries whose Governments, on the outbreak of war, at once utilised all their existing organisations, and deputed to their most experienced industrial and commercial organisers, definite and important duties in connection with the carrying on of the war. Had this been done in England, instead of Ministers keeping matters in their own hands, it is my opinion that we could have faced this great upheaval much more effectively than has been the case.

Efficient co-operation of the industrial, commercial, financial, scientific, transport, and labour interests with the Government would have enabled our enormous resources to have been brought into requisition from the very commencement of the war.

As it is, after twelve months of war we are only now realising what proper co-ordination of all our vast resources might have accomplished—indeed, the difference so far as practical results are con-



## CAPITAL AND LABOUR

cerned between thorough organisation and the reverse can scarcely be comprehended. It is unfortunate that the services of men who have led the great organisations of capital and labour have not been taken advantage of to anything like the extent they should have been.

Had this co-operation between the various organisations existed, it might have been possible to have dealt more effectively with the problems connected with the supply of the necessities of life, which, I pointed out to the Government, would not only constitute the chief difficulty in carrying on the war, but would be the main factor in terminating the struggle. Certainly, so far as this country is concerned, much might have been done to prevent the undue rise in prices which has inflicted hardships upon all, and especially on the working people, and has been the main cause of the industrial unrest that exists. On the other hand, nothing could have been more splendid than the response of the nation to the call to arms, and the magnificent and unprecedented heroism and self-sacrifice which have been displayed—but, again, the failing has been the want of co-ordination of the resources in men with the resources for the production of the munitions of war, which I believe the National Register will speedily remedy.

It is useless, however, dwelling upon the errors of the past which cannot now be altered, and the only object in referring to them is that in the future full advantage may be taken of the experience

## CAPITAL AND LABOUR

gained, so that the vast resources of the nation may be utilised to the fullest extent.

My long connection with the cotton industry, one of the greatest and most complex of our national interests, has compelled my giving a large amount of attention to the relationship between capital and labour, not in this industry alone, but has brought me into close personal touch with many of the leaders of capital and labour in other staple industries, all of which are interdependent.

It has been my endeavour over a long term of years to impart as much information as possible regarding what might be considered the employers' view of the carrying on of the industries to those who were selected by the working people to safeguard their interests. By so doing I felt that the realisation of the employers' and workpeople's interests being identical, would go a long way to smoothing over the differences which from time to time arise, and would help to prevent disputes regarding the division of the profits of industry, and also to promote mutual respect for the rights of both.

I attribute the comparative freedom from general stoppages in the cotton industry during the past twenty years—an immense change from the conditions that obtained in the previous twenty years—to the operation of the famous Charter which terminated the twenty weeks' struggle in 1892-93, and which declares in its preamble that “ the representatives of the employers and the representatives of the employed hereby admit that disputes and differences

## CAPITAL AND LABOUR

between them are inimical to the interests of both parties, and that it is expedient and desirable that some means should be adopted for the future whereby such disputes and differences may be expeditiously and amicably settled and strikes and lock-outs avoided." Other important factors are the educational work that has been extensively carried on, and the co-operation of the representatives of the operatives with the representatives of the employers in the promotion of public-spirited movements for the maintenance and extension of an industry which plays such a prominent part in our national welfare. I have endeavoured to carry this educational work still further, and, after numerous conferences, a plan was devised and has now been in operation for a number of years, whereby outside experts, who are independent of both workpeople and employers, and each independent of the other, are brought in, and by the aid of a tabulation of thoroughly reliable statistics it is possible to shew accurately the profits of the industry at any given time or over a period of years. This scheme provides automatic arbitration without an arbitrator.

Another great factor in preventing wages disputes in the cotton trade during the past twenty years has been the limiting of the percentage of the rise and fall of wages, and also that when any change has taken place a certain time must elapse before any further change can occur. It is much to be desired that this condition could be agreed upon in all industries. When fully explained, the simplicity of the scheme for ascertaining profits and

## CAPITAL AND LABOUR

its fairness is at once apparent, and I believe it is capable of being adapted to almost any industry. Disputes very often arise from an exaggerated view of the return on capital invested in industry generally, and if some means can be devised by which this can be fairly accurately gauged it would often prevent unreasonable demands being made by work-people or the refusals on the part of employers to share in prosperity.

When industries are well organised on both sides, and vicissitudes arise which may render it necessary to temporarily curtail production, co-operation between the organisations of employers and work-people might be requisitioned with most beneficial effect.

Feeling strongly that many disputes might be avoided by thorough investigation by practical men when a deadlock arises, I conceived the idea of the Government appointing a body consisting of an equal number of thoroughly experienced representatives of capital and labour connected with the staple industries of the country, which, as I have already said, are interdependent. After securing the approval of many of the most prominent leaders of capital and labour, the Industrial Council was appointed by the Government in October, 1911, and high hopes were entertained as to the services this body would render in the cause of industrial peace. But for some reason which it is difficult to understand, and which has never been explained, this body was only utilised to a very limited extent before the war, and notwithstanding the very con-

## CAPITAL AND LABOUR

siderable industrial unrest that has occurred since the war, it has not been utilised at all.

Another matter which is equally inexplicable is that the result of an extensive inquiry into industrial agreements and their observance which was deputed by the Government to the Industrial Council, and which occupied 38 long sittings in 1912-13, has never been utilised.

A perusal of the report that was issued proves conclusively not only the desirability of, but the absolute necessity for, the thorough organisation of both capital and labour, and that where this obtains disputes are usually settled between the parties themselves. The main obstacle to the perfecting of these organisations is the selfishness of a small minority of both employers and workpeople, who remain outside the various organisations, but who do not hesitate to take full advantage of the public-spirited and self-sacrificing work of the majority.

A good deal has been said about trade-union limitation of output. I venture to express the opinion that this is against the true interests of labour—indeed, it would be on a par with the persecution of the great inventors who have done more than any other men to improve the position of labour, and to place England in the proud position of being the greatest industrial and commercial nation of the world.

I am personally acquainted with many of the official representatives of labour in the staple industries, and upon the whole I have formed a high opinion of their capacity and fairness, and it is only

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by the rank and file following their leaders that they can hope to be successful in securing their legitimate rights—**an army without leaders can accomplish nothing.**

The inquiry by the Industrial Council, already referred to, also demonstrated that compulsory arbitration for large bodies of men by legal enactment is impossible, and therefore it should never have been included in the “Munitions Act.”

I hold strongly that the interference of politicians with industrial disputes is calculated to generate bitterness between capital and labour, and often leads to inconclusive settlements which are against the best interests of the industries. It is not to be expected that it is possible for those who devote their whole energies to politics to have the necessary knowledge of the intricacies of the numerous industries or the varying conditions under which they are carried on.

The employers have the idea that this interference places them at a disadvantage, and that such a feeling should exist, although the workpeople may gain an immediate apparent advantage, is ultimately prejudicial to the real interests of industrial peace and the national welfare. In this connection I should like to emphasise that a large proportion of the gross earnings of industry goes in the payment of labour and of the expenses necessary to the running of the industries, and even under normal conditions it is only a small margin that is left to remunerate those who have invested their capital. In the event of such a crisis as the present, this may

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not only vanish but there may be a diminution of capital, and it must be borne in mind that the employers' resources are not unlimited.

The effect of the war on industry has been most varied. Certain industries have been exceptionally profitable; others have suffered severely, notably the cotton industry, which is dependent for over three-quarters of its employment upon export trade in competition with many other countries. To deal with the wages question without taking into consideration the varying conditions is obviously unfair. A late President of the Board of Trade made a statement a year or two ago that a sum of no less than £2,400,000,000 is invested in joint-stock companies alone in the United Kingdom. This vast capital belongs to millions of people and is the accumulated savings of brain and muscle, many small investors depending upon it for their living. There may be therefore quite as much suffering among them from the effects of the war as among the workpeople for whom this capital finds employment. A thorough investigation into all the circumstances is absolutely necessary before giving any award in a wages dispute, instead of, as is too frequently done, ignoring these considerations or splitting the difference. If it is proved that an industry is making exceptional profits it is only fair that the workpeople, who may be involved in extra strain, should share in this prosperity, but in the event of an industry being adversely affected this policy might, in the long run, result in the workpeople being thrown out of work altogether.



## CAPITAL AND LABOUR

It would be difficult to conceive any better method for preventing or settling disputes than such a body as the Industrial Council. To this Council the Government should refer all disputes that the parties themselves fail to settle, and the decision should be published.

In any dispute in a staple industry which results in a strike or lock-out, it is not only the combatants that suffer, but enormous numbers of people who have no direct interest in the dispute are deprived of their means of livelihood; indeed, it must never be overlooked that the whole trade of the country is one vast organism, and it is essential that the national welfare must have the primary consideration in any dispute that may arise.

Any refusal of the parties to a dispute to submit their case to a tribunal composed of an equal number of experienced representatives of capital and labour with a non-political chairman appointed by the Government, would be strong presumptive evidence against the fairness of their demands, and the impression made on those whose interests are seriously prejudiced by the dispute, and on the public generally, is the only compulsion possible, and it would usually be effective.

### SUMMARY.

In this paper I have endeavoured to shew :—

1. That harmonious relationship between capital and labour is always of the utmost importance, and that at a time of great national crisis it is supremely so.

2. That in order to cope with such a colossal



## CAPITAL AND LABOUR

task as that by which the Government was confronted, the task would have been lightened and much would have been gained, had they at once enlisted the assistance of experienced industrial organisers, and co-ordinated all existing organisations.

3. That the United Kingdom is as well organised as any other nation, and had there been effective co-operation of the industrial, commercial, financial, scientific, transport, and labour interests with the Government from the commencement of the war, the position in every respect to-day would have been vastly better than it is.

4. That by the co-ordination of these interests, the problems connected with the supply of the necessities of life, and with the undue raising of prices of commodities, might have been coped with much more successfully than they have been.

5. That the rise in the prices of commodities has undoubtedly been the main factor in creating industrial unrest.

6. That the only object in calling attention to the errors of the past is that we might profit by the experience gained, and so utilise to the utmost the vast resources at disposal.

7. That the interference by politicians with industrial disputes is to be strongly deprecated, often leading to inconclusive settlements, it being impossible for them to have the necessary knowledge of the intricacies of the different industries or their varied conditions of working ; that such interference only engenders bitterness and does ultimate harm.

## CAPITAL AND LABOUR

8. That thorough organisation of both capital and labour is essential to the smooth working of the industries, and that where this is the case, disputes are generally settled by negotiations between the parties themselves.

9. That disputes frequently arise from an exaggerated estimate of the return on capital, and that schemes for ascertaining this return should be promoted, as exaggerated views often lead to unreasonable demands.

10. That the Industrial Council, which was appointed by the Government in 1911, and which is composed of an equal representation of capital and labour, with a non-political chairman, has not been utilised since the outbreak of war, that no adequate explanation of this has been offered, and that the valuable report of its inquiry into industrial agreements has not been made use of.

11. That the enforcement of compulsory arbitration where large bodies of men are concerned is an impossibility, and that an inquiry into the merits of a dispute by experienced men representing capital and labour, and the publicity given to its findings, would, together with public opinion generally, supply the only effective compulsion.

12. That trade-union limitation of output is against the best interests of labour.

13. That official representatives of labour are generally men of capacity and fairness, deserving of the confidence of the rank and file.

14. That the effect of the war upon industries has been varied, and that any war bonus or wages ad-

## CAPITAL AND LABOUR

vance should only be granted after full investigation by leaders of capital and labour.

### CONCLUSION.

In conclusion, I have endeavoured to deal with a complex problem from the standpoint of one who has during the past twenty years been frequently placed in the difficult position of having to preside over conferences of masters and men in connection with disputes, while occupying the position of President of the Masters' Federation during that period. Whatever success may have attended this work is mainly attributable to being able to eliminate personal interests, and to view matters solely from the standpoint of endeavouring to act fairly between man and man. From a wide experience I have come to the conclusion that nothing is gained from strikes and lock-outs; that the leaders of capital and labour have exceptionally heavy responsibilities; and that industrial peace, especially at present, is absolutely essential. Mistakes and the difficulties they cause frequently prove to be blessings in disguise. So far as the British nation—I might say Empire—is concerned the greater the difficulties to be faced, the greater is the energy and determination to overcome them. It is fervently to be hoped that such an arousing is now taking place and that everyone is being made to feel the seriousness of the situation, and that all classes must be prepared to make any sacrifices that may be necessary to ensure the speedy and victorious termination of the unprecedented struggle in which we and our Allies are engaged in defence of freedom and civilisation.



## APPENDIX F

### LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE FREE TRADE UNION.

“Ardmore,” St. Annes-on-the-Sea,  
December 18th, 1909.

My Dear Sir,

Having occupied the responsible position of President of the Master Cotton Spinners' Federation since 1894, and having also been Chairman of the Committee of the International Cotton Federation since its inauguration in 1904, it has been necessary for me to give attention to all problems connected with the cotton industry, the development of which has been remarkable. Although not a party politician, in view of the threatened change in our fiscal policy I consider it to be my duty to place before the electors in every way I possibly can some facts regarding this great industry:—

1. Lancashire, the centre of the cotton industry of England, has during the last fifty years doubled her population; she has also doubled her cotton machinery, considerably improved its efficiency and increased the speed at which it is run, with the result that not only is there a proportionately greater output, but the output is of immensely increased value.

## LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT

2. The importance of the cotton industry of England may be judged from the fact that its products, in addition to providing for our home requirements, represent about a third of our total exports of manufactures. This export trade is about three-quarters of the production of our fifty-three-and-a-half million spindles and the dependent machinery. These exports go to the great neutral markets as well as largely to the countries which have a cotton industry of their own, forming part of their exports. There are something like seventy-eight million spindles in the other twenty-one cotton manufacturing countries. Next in importance to England comes the United States of America with twenty-eight million spindles, then on the continent of Europe Germany leads with ten million spindles; in the Far East there are in India five-and-a-half million spindles, and about one-and-three-quarter millions spindles in Japan.
3. In round figures the cotton crop of the world now averages about twenty millions bales, and a common fallacy of Tariff Reformers is to gauge the value of the cotton industry of the respective countries by the weight of raw cotton consumed, thus displaying their utter inexperience of the conditions under which the industry is carried on. England, with considerably over one-third of the spindles of

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the world, consumes annually four million bales of cotton, whereas the United States of America, with about half the number of spindles there are in England, consumes five million bales, and Germany, with considerably less than a fifth of the spindles in England, consumes one-and-three-quarter million bales. This proves the absurdity of the Tariff Reformers' contention. It is obvious that the value of the cotton trade of the respective countries can really only be gauged by the extent of the machinery, the labour employed, the fineness, variety, excellence, and value of the fabrics produced.<sup>1</sup>

4. Another of the gross misrepresentations of the advocates of Tariff Reform is that the present depression in the cotton trade arises from Free Trade. If so, how is it that every other cotton manufacturing country in the world, most of which are under Protection, is at present in the same condition? I say emphatically that the causes of the present world-wide depression in the cotton trade have nothing whatever to do with the fiscal policy of this or any other country.

If a careful study had been made of the effect Tariff Reform would have upon our greatest manu-

1. Between 1909 and 1912, the cotton trade throughout the world increased in round figures from 131,500,000 to 143,500,000 spindles. No tabulation has been possible since the war began.

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facturing industry, I am of opinion it would never have been launched, but, from the arguments of the advocates of Tariff Reform, it is evident that no proper investigation was ever made. From my intercourse with the leading men in the cotton trade of the world, and consequent knowledge of the conditions under which the industry is carried on, both at home and abroad, I am convinced that we have advantages at present which we should be deprived of were Tariff Reform adopted in England. Its adoption would, in my opinion, not only enhance the cost of building and equipping mills, but it would also increase the cost of coal and other requisites for running the mills; it would further increase the cost of the numerous processes through which cotton passes, each of which, like the building, equipping, and running of mills, involves a large amount of labour; therefore, the accumulated enhancement in the cost of the finished fabrics would speedily undermine our position, and sooner or later our gigantic export trade in cotton goods would pass into other hands. The loss of a trade which stands at the head of our exporting industries would be a disaster not only to the millions of people directly interested in it, but would seriously affect all our national activities. In my opinion, none would suffer more severely than the great landowners, many of which seem to be the strongest advocates of Tariff Reform. Their interests and those of the agricultural classes are inseparably bound up with the prosperity of our great manufacturing industries and the power of these industries to maintain and



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extend our enormous export trade. It is well to remember that within a radius of fifty miles of the Manchester Exchange there is a population of eight millions, and this area forms the largest outlet for agricultural produce of any similar area within the United Kingdom.

The United Kingdom is pre-eminently an industrial and commercial nation dependent more than any other country for the employment of her population of forty-four millions upon the maintenance and expansion of her foreign trade. In protected countries the tendency is for the cost of living to increase more and more; this, coupled with the demands of labour to obtain the conditions existing in England, is undoubtedly reducing the power of those nations to successfully compete in the markets of the world.

Tariff Reform once begun in England would most assuredly follow the course pursued by the nations which have adopted Protection. One result would be industrial strife in the endeavour to adjust the changed conditions, and the enhancement of the cost of production would also speedily follow. Both of these would seriously prejudice our power of continuing to secure the large share of the trade of the world we at present possess.

My only object in addressing you, as the President of the Free Trade Union, which I understand is a non-party organisation, is that I am deeply concerned about the maintenance of our pre-eminent position as a commercial nation. I place this above all other issues that are at present before the nation,



## LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT

and I hope that the primary consideration of the electors will be to return men to Parliament who are pledged to continue our Free Trade policy, which, circumstanced as we are, is, in my opinion, vital to our national welfare.

I am,

Yours faithfully,

C. W. MACARA.

To the Rt. Hon. Arnold Morley,  
President, Free Trade Union,  
8, Victoria Street, Westminster,  
London, S.W.



## APPENDIX F 1.

### MR. MACARA AND POLITICS.

DEFENCE OF MR. MACARA BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE  
MANCHESTER ROYAL EXCHANGE.

(*Manchester Evening News*, January 6th, 1910.)

Speaking at the Chorlton Town Hall, last night, Mr. A. A. Haworth,<sup>1</sup> M.P. for South Manchester, Chairman of the Manchester Royal Exchange, and a principal of one of the most important cotton concerns in the country, said :—

I saw in a Manchester paper this morning a very angry article embodying a letter with a certain number of signatories to it, some of whom some of us have heard of, angry with Mr. Macara because he has written certain letters to the Free Trade League among other bodies, setting forward his views on Tariff Reform as applied to the cotton industry of Lancashire.

#### MR. MACARA'S POSITION IN THE COTTON TRADE.

Now I am not here in defence of Mr. Macara ; he is well able to defend himself, and he might consider it an impertinence on my part to put forward anything in the nature of a defence on his behalf. But when I see a man whom I respect, who has a position in the cotton trade which is second to none in the whole world of to-day who has perhaps done more

1. Now Sir Arthur A. Haworth, Bart. Reprinted from the *Manchester Evening News*, January 6th, 1910.

## MR. MACARA AND POLITICS

for the cotton trade than any man who ever lived except the great inventors of the self-acting mule, the spinning jenny, and the power loom—when I see him abused as being guilty of writing these letters as a political dodge, I, for one, as a private individual, desire to enter my protest.

### A BASELESS ACCUSATION.

First of all, Mr. Macara is accused of using his position as President of the Federation of Master Cotton Spinners at home and Chairman of the Federated Cotton Spinners of all the cotton spinning countries of the world. But as far as I remember—I have not had time to look up the letters again—they were not written in his capacity as Chairman; they were written from his private address at St. Annes-on-the-Sea. He disclaimed having any interest in any political party. To my knowledge he has always, in the great work he has done in organising the cotton trade for the general benefit of operatives and cotton spinners alike, avoided party conflicts.

### POLITICAL VIEWS PERFECTLY CONCEALED.

To such an extent has he been able to conceal his own views in politics that to my knowledge—I don't know whether he would like me to say it or not—he has been approached by both the great political parties to become a candidate for Parliamentary honours.

If those who attack Mr. Macara for the way he has done this as an individual who cannot help being the President of this great organisation,

## MR. MACARA AND POLITICS

having been elected there by the men who know the trade best, and know him as being the man best fitted for that position—if they would for one moment attempt to refute one single argument that he has put forward as to why we should stick to Free Trade, they would do more good to their cause.

## APPENDIX F 2.

### WHAT THE LEADERS OF THE OPERATIVES IN THE COTTON TRADE AND ALLIED INDUSTRIES THINK OF PROTECTION !<sup>1</sup>

We believe that the supremacy of the United Kingdom in the world's cotton trade is due to our Free Trade policy, which enables us to buy the materials we require for the production of manufactured cotton at the lowest price without the additional burden of import duties. This minimum capital outlay and the consequent saving in interest and depreciation give the manufacturers of the United Kingdom a great advantage in competition with manufacturers in protected countries. Untaxed bread and meat and dairy produce have contributed to the health and efficiency of the workpeople; and our Free Trade policy opens to us all the markets of the world on the terms of the most favoured nation.

We are convinced that any departure from our Free Trade policy would cause great and irreparable injury to the cotton trade, and its allied industries, on which Lancashire and other parts of the country so largely depend.

(Signed)

THOMAS ASHTON.

JAMES CRINION.

J. CROSS.

A. H. GILL.

WILLIAM MARSLAND.

WM. MULLIN.

W. C. ROBINSON.

D. J. SHACKLETON.

ALFRED SMALLEY.

J. E. TATTERSALL.

January 3rd, 1910.

1. *Vide* Daily Press



## APPENDIX F 3.

### LANCASHIRE COTTON TRADE.

GREAT MANIFESTO AGAINST TARIFF "REFORM."

A NON-PARTY STATEMENT.

VITAL IMPORTANCE OF THE ISSUE.<sup>1</sup>

The leaders of the Lancashire cotton industry, irrespective of party politics, have been greatly concerned at the definite adoption by the Conservative party of the policy of Tariff "Reform." They hold that this policy, if put into operation, would inflict irretrievable disaster on the main industry of the county. A manifesto has accordingly been prepared in support of the views on this subject set forth by Mr. C. W. Macara, and has been very largely signed. The signatures printed below have been collected within the space of two days, and they could have been added to almost indefinitely if time had allowed. It will be seen that almost every great firm in the cotton and allied trades is represented by the names of one or other of the directors, in the list of signatories, and that the names, appended within the short time during which the document has been open for signature, are thoroughly representative of Lancashire.

<sup>1</sup> Reprinted from the *Manchester Guardian*, Jan. 14th, 1910

# GREAT MANIFESTO AGAINST

## THE MANIFESTO.

The text of the Manifesto is as follows :—

We, the undersigned spinners, manufacturers, and merchants connected with the cotton industry, desire to state that, quite apart from party politics, we unhesitatingly affirm our belief not only that Free Trade is the best fiscal system for the country generally, but that any resort to a system of Tariff Reform would seriously jeopardise the position of the cotton trade of Lancashire, and so produce appalling disaster to the whole country. We, therefore, thoroughly endorse the views which have been set forth by Mr. C. W. Macara, whose position makes him particularly conversant with the facts obtaining in all the cotton-using countries of the world.

Manchester, January 12th, 1910.

The following is the list of signatures :—

Ernest Agnew.	G. B. Alexander.
A. Y. Agopian.	H. Ashworth.
William Ashworth.	Armitage & Rigby, Ltd.
Alfred K. Armitage.	R. Noton Barclay.
James Arrowsmith.	G. Beatson Blair.
R. Ashworth & Son.	J. R. Barlow (Barlow & Jones,
A. E. Ashton.	Ltd.).
Thomas Ashton.	Joseph Bell.
James H. Ainsworth.	Alfred Brookes.
Francis Atkinson.	G. F. Burditt.
James Ainsworth.	Frederick Ball.
A. Abbott & Co.	Wallace Brooks.
H. Arthur.	Joseph Bles.
F. H. Ardern.	John Blears.
J. W. Adam.	P. Badger.

## TARIFF " REFORM "

Richard Bond.	Henry Bannerman & Sons, Ltd.
W. J. Bewley.	George Buckley.
J. R. Broadhurst.	Joshua Berry.
J. E. Bell.	Adam Bradley.
J. Birtwistle.	James Bottomley.
Bailey & Roberts.	Arnold W. Boyd.
Bury Brothers.	John Broxap.
John R. Byrom.	Thomas Butterworth.
W. Burrows & Son, Ltd.	James Barrow.
A. Bottomley.	A. W. Bradbury.
S. Bottomley.	John R. Brooks.
James Bentley.	A. Birtwistle.
Sir Jacob Behrens & Co.	J. J. Briggs.
John Boyd.	William Berry.
A. Beith.	Thomas R. Bolton
Donald Beith	H. R. Barnes.
W. Burrows.	J. Bottomley.
T. Bannister,	J. Bradbury.
J. B. Breacken.	J. A. Botham.
Richard Barlow.	J. C. Broadbent
Charles Brown.	J. W. Blackwell.
Birtwistle & Oddy.	T. E. Bamford.
B. Birtwistle.	M. Burnitt.
F. S. Burrows.	A. Barlow & Sons.
S. Bancroft.	C. Brumm.
H. Briggs & Co.	Barlow Brothers & Greenwood.
H. Barlow.	H. Buckley.
Beehive Spinning Co., Ltd.	J. Bamford.
Edwin Barlow.	E. H. Barnes.
John Barlow.	S. L. Behrens & Co.
John W. Brooks.	J. E. Bell.
H. Beswick.	R. H. Bowdler (Wesham Mill
Frank Barlow.	Co., Ltd.)
Boulaye Brothers.	James Butterworth.
H. A. Bunting.	Joseph Barker.
G. A. Behrens.	Fred Bradshaw.
George Bickham.	S. Berry.



## GREAT MANIFESTO AGAINST

J. M. Bradock.	James Cheetham.
W. Bracken.	Miles Crompton.
J. S. Bass.	J. W. Clarke.
T. J. Bradburn.	M. Clegg.
J. E. Barrett.	Joseph Crook & Son, Ltd.
S. D. Bles & Sons.	G. H. Clegg.
Allan H. Bright.	H. Clegg.
Alfred Crewdson.	W. Carmichael.
Sir Frederick Cawley.	J. Crompton.
Arthur Carrington.	J. Carr & Sons.
J. W. Crewdson.	W. Cartlinge.
Thomas R. Campbell.	H. Crompton.
Henry Cuncliffe & Son.	J. T. Chadwick.
Robert H. Cooil.	J. R. Cockcroft.
J. W. Cochcroft.	J. Crabtree.
Tom Carrington.	E. Catterall.
H. W. Carrington.	E. Cooper.
Edward T. Crook.	William Cheetham.
Joshua Crook & Sons, Ltd.	Joseph Chadwick.
Tom Cox (Palmer Mill Co., Ltd.).	J. S. Cheetham.
Collinge Brothers.	John Dodd (Platt Bros. & Co., Ltd.).
Thomas Catlow.	Tom Dean.
J. T. Cuncliffe.	H. C. Dewhurst.
Coates Manufacturing Co., Ltd.	Harry Dutton.
John Cocks.	Ernest M. Davies.
Harry Cooper.	Josiah Doxey.
Hamlett Cocker.	W. Dean.
G. H. Chadwick.	Alexander Dowson.
Thomas Clarke.	W. Douny.
W. D. Chadfield.	David Dyson.
Thomas Collier.	Joseph Dugdale.
G. H. Crook.	Daisyfield Ring Co.
Thomas Coates.	A. Dawson.
G. H. Clegg.	Edward Dyson & Sons
John Cheetham.	W. Dearden.
James Caladino.	Abel Dearnaley.

## TARIFF " REFORM "

Frank Dewhurst.	James Fletcher.
E. H. Dewhurst.	W. Scott Forbes.
P. Dinwiddie	Robinson Foulds.
B. Dawson.	James Foulds.
Walter Duckworth.	Henry Fleetwood.
J. Derbyshire.	T. W. A. Forrest & Co., Ltd.
J. Doodson.	John Faulkner.
George Dickins.	A. E. Fitton.
Alfred Emmott.	John Faulkner, Ltd.
Gustav Eckhard	Henry H. L. Fletcher.
John W. Exley.	Wm. Fergusson (J. Fergusson
T. W. Emmott & Co.	& Co.).
W. H. Eyre.	W. Fischbach.
William Emery (William Emery,	W. W. Fletcher (Ashton Bros.
Ltd.).	& Co., Ltd.).
James Emery.	J. R. Forester.
A. T. Eccles & Sons.	John Flockton.
Robert Emmott.	Jos. Frost.
T. Emmott & Sons.	C. Fielding.
James Edmundson.	J. Fielding.
Edgar & Cothingy.	A. Fielden.
James Ellison.	John Fell.
William Emmett.	H. Fieldman.
Edward A. Eason.	W. H. Frost.
Edward A. Eason, junior	A. S. Fulber.
W. H. Eason.	D. E. Frith.
J. Emmett.	Jos. Foulds.
B. Ellinger.	G. W. Fennell.
W. Eller.	Thomas Fletcher.
Edward Evans & Son.	Paul Fraser & Co
George Entwistle.	N. H. Foulds.
Elson & Neill.	S. Galk.
H. Ellison.	John Grey, Ltd.
John W. Exley.	Greenfield Mill Co.
W. Arthur Elder.	H. Garstang.
James E. Evans.	James Garside.
A. O. Evans.	Tom Garnett.

## GREAT MANIFESTO AGAINST

G. P. Gunnis & Co.	Haslam Spinning Co.
James Gibbon & Son.	Joseph B. Harrison (Vernon
William Gibson.	Cotton Spinning Co., Ltd.).
William Gibbon.	Harwood Brothers.
H. Goble.	John Holden & Son.
W. R. Grundy.	James Halliwell.
W. H. Greenhow & Co., Ltd.	Hampden Mill Co., Ltd.
John Grime.	William Hodgson.
J. O. Griffiths.	Hartley Spencer, Ltd.
John Gledhill.	Frank Hodson.
John Greenwood.	George G. Hardman.
John G. Graves.	William Holden.
C. Gatkie.	James F. Hutton & Co., Ltd.
J. G. Grime.	Haythornthwaite Brothers, Ltd.
J. Greenwood.	William Hoyle.
O. Gillett & Co.	John Haughton.
C. W. Godbert.	C. J. Hadfield.
J. M. Gray.	Alfred Haworth.
Sidney Gask.	George Hadfield.
Charles F. Gresty.	J. R. Hepburn.
J. Francis Gibb.	Edward Hallsworth.
George S. Greaves.	Samuel Hague & Co., Ltd.
A. H. Greensmith.	William Harrop.
Richard Haworth & Co., Ltd.	T. Hellowell.
Sir Frank Hollins, Bart.	P. Haworth & Son.
L. Heyworth.	Hollas, Farnworth, Ltd.
E. & G. Hindle, Ltd.	Ralph Holden.
Arthur M. Hughes.	W. Hamer.
W. A. Hargreaves.	Jesse Haworth.
Hall, Higham & Co.	Charles Hardman.
J. T. Hargreaves.	R. Hasty.
C. Harris.	T. Horrocks.
Holme Manufacturing Co., Ltd.	J. G. Haworth.
R. Holdsworth & Nephew.	David Healey.
Edmund Halstead.	James Hunt.
R. Harwood & Son, Ltd.	A. W. Hennings.
John Harwood & Son.	Thomas S. Howorth.

## TARIFF " REFORM "

William Hay.	J. Hindle.
K. Haskim.	F. R. Haythornthwaite.
R. Haskim.	Albert Hindle.
Fred Hartley.	James A. Holden.
Hey & Elliott, Ltd.	C. W. Higgin.
S. Hodgkinson.	E. A. Haslam.
John Hamer.	J. W. Holt
Harrison, Son, & Hague, Ltd.	R. Hargreaves.
George Hahlo.	C. Hoyle.
Joseph Hargreaves.	W. H. Horsfall.
A. P. Hillis.	D. Hill.
W. R. Hesketh.	H. Hollinrake.
Joseph Hague.	J. Halliwell.
Edwin Hamer	H. Holden.
A. G. C. Harvey.	T. Hartley.
E. C. Harvey.	W. F. Hamer.
W. H. Hall.	Hartley & Wilson, Ltd.
W. Healey.	F. Higson.
John R. Hardern.	John A. Hood.
Edward T. Hoyle.	Jehu Healey.
W. C. Hargreaves.	John W. Healey.
R. P. Hewit.	J. W. Habbashaw.
Forest Hewit.	C. Holt.
S. Hinrichsen & Co.	William Taylor Hague.
A. B. Herbert.	B. & W. Hartley, Ltd.
C. Hahnel.	W. B. Hodgkinson.
Phillips Hindley.	Samuel Haughton.
W. E. Hall.	Fred C. Isherwood.
D. Hendle.	R. Isherwood.
E. O. Heywood.	J. Isherwood.
James H. Hyde.	P. Isherwood.
Thomas Hey.	W. O. Ingham.
R. Hahnel.	C. H. Ingham.
W. Heap.	Alfred Ingham.
B. W. Holden.	George Ingham.
W. B. Hanson.	W. G. Johnson.
F. J. Hargreaves.	F. Johnston & Co., Ltd

## GREAT MANIFESTO AGAINST

James S. Johnstone.	Julius Lesser & Co.'s Successors
J. B. Johnstone & Co	John Longworth, Ltd.
H. Jackson.	J. P. Lord.
Richard H. Jackson.	G. H. Leeming.
John Jackson & Son.	J. Lloyd.
Daniel Jopson.	James Lees.
E. Jones.	Fred Longbottom.
G. B. Kay.	W. E. Lightbowne.
John Kay & Son.	W. Lowe.
Alfred J. King.	J. F. Lomax.
Ernest A. Kolp.	Sam Luke.
T. W. Killick.	K. Lee.
L. Kippax.	Samuel Leigh.
R. W. Kessler.	James Lawrence.
Samuel Kealey.	E. S. Lang.
W. T. Kemp.	J. G. Leach.
James Kay.	E. Lawton.
W. Randell Kay.	J. A. Leeming.
Leonard Kershaw.	E. H. Langden.
Arthur Kershaw.	H. Lee.
John Kenyon.	Charles Lees.
J. Kerfoot.	G. H. Lings.
C. Koch & Co., Ltd.	Lewis & Buckley.
William Kenyon & Son, Ltd.	Frank Leech.
Lancaster Brothers.	Wilfred Lord.
A. Lindley & Son.	W. Langshaw.
Edward Lord.	John Dewhurst Milne.
John F. Leach.	T. R. Marsden (Platt Brothers & Co., Ltd.).
John Law.	W. R. M'Clure (R. M'Clure & Son, Ltd.).
J. W. Landless.	E. R. M. M'Clure (R. M'Clure & Son, Ltd.).
Henry Leach.	J. H. Moorhouse (Vernon Cotton Spinning Co., Ltd.).
George E. Leach.	J. S. Matchin (Waste Spinning Co.).
Frank Lee.	
Lennox Lee.	
Henry Lawton (Asa Lees & Co., Ltd.).	
John E. Longworth	

## TARIFF " REFORM "

R. Martin & Son, Ltd.	John Mills.
J. Mallalieu.	Thomas Milnes.
John Mitchell.	C. William Mills.
W. Marsland.	James Milne.
James Moorhouse.	Robert Mellor.
Robert E. Milne.	William Marcroft.
G. W. Munn.	Mitchell & Son.
P. Millward.	William Morgan.
Joseph Magson.	William M'Kerracher.
F. R. M'Connell (Greg Brothers & Co.).	J. H. Morris & Co.
O. Mallalieu.	R. W. Matthews.
A. H. Marsland.	James Milne (Preston).
C. Marx.	G. W. Needham (Platt Brothers & Co., Ltd.).
Alex. Manley.	H. T. Normanton & Co., Ltd.
C. E. Moore.	C. Newth.
S. Milne.	John Noden.
Fred H. Mayall.	R. Nutter & Co., Ltd.
Abel Mellor.	Ephraim Nutter.
W. H. Morris.	Thomas Nutter.
J. G. Marcroft.	A. O. Noel.
J. B. Mayall.	S. C. Nördlinger.
John Margerison.	W. Noble.
James Mallalieu.	A. Nördlinger.
J. W. Mallalieu.	Howarth Nuttall.
C. Mellor.	Wilfred F. Nuttall.
S. J. Michles.	James Nutter.
J. Malloc.	John E. Newton (Asa Lees & Co., Ltd.).
R. Moores.	Thomas Noton, jun.
A. Matthews.	George Nelson.
Joseph Mills.	John Needham & Sons.
H. A. Marsland.	George Newton.
R. H. Massey.	S. Newton.
R. D. M'Laren.	F. Norcliffe, jun.
J. Marshall.	A. Nichol.
J. H. Marsden.	M. S. Newton.
R. Moorhouse.	

# GREAT MANIFESTO AGAINST

Thomas Nuttall & Sons, Ltd.	John E. Rhodes.
Nuttall & Crook.	J. F. & H. Roberts, Ltd.
R. Nutter & Co., Ltd.	W. Rowbotham.
W. W. Neill.	J. R. Rhodes & Co.
Oxford Mill Co., Ltd.	James Rhodes.
H. Oliver.	F. Rushworth.
Joseph Oliver.	John Ramsbotham.
Cuthbertson Orr.	James Ramsbotham.
William J. Orr.	W. Riley.
Orschavir Brothers.	S. Robinson.
D. E. Ormerod.	Ritchie & Eason.
Samuel Ormerod.	Frederick Reyner.
William O'Hanlon & Co.	W. Rigg.
David Ottersill.	F. Redman.
J. A. Ormerod.	Rawson Brothers.
R. Ogden.	F. W. Rayner.
W. O'Neill.	H. T. Rayner.
S. H. Ormerod & Co.	James Russel.
Ogdens & Madeleys, Ltd.	A. Rogerson.
The Old Mill Co., Ltd.	John Rountree.
T. Pilling.	R. Ryden.
Pickup & Co.	H. D. Rattray.
A. C. Pott & Co.	T. Redman.
S. Potter.	W. J. Robertson.
William Pearson.	J. Robertson & Sons.
William Pownall.	F. Robey.
Pembertons, Ltd.	G. E. Rowland.
C. H. Pickford.	Frank S. Roberts.
James Prestwich.	River & Tower Mills Co., Ltd.
Alfred Partington.	C. W. Rothwell.
T. Parkins.	William Smith & Co.
Thomas Potter.	J. H. Snowdon.
W. J. Petrie.	Samuel Slater.
S. H. Robinson.	Steinthal & Co.
George Robinson & Co.	James Speak.
Roach Vale Mills, Ltd.	F. A. Scott.
Samuel Ralphs (Vernon Cotton	Tom Shackleton.
Spinning Co., Ltd.).	S. H. Sagar.

## TARIFF " REFORM "

John Smith.	T. Stott.
T. & J. Smith.	F. J. Sparks
Thomas Stephens.	T. H. Rigby.
John Sutcliffe.	A. E. Sutton.
Sandygate Mill Co., Ltd.	R. W. Seed.
Ernest M. Susman.	A. Saxon.
Paul Susman.	W. Stephens.
W. F. Smethurst.	G. Stott.
J. W. Sclanders & Co.	J. J. Smithies.
J. W. Shovelton.	W. Slater & Son, Ltd
Edgar Smalley.	E. G. Smalley.
Henry Speakman.	W. E. Sagar.
S. H. Smith.	Joseph T. Sladen.
Joseph Sutcliffe.	G. Shuttleworth.
Herbert Slater.	J. Stott.
Fred A. Slater.	Emil Scholefield.
A. Sugden.	S. Sugden.
Harold Shawcross	Schofield & Froggatt.
Thomas Scott.	Sugden Sutcliffe.
S. Seidlin.	James Speak.
H. R. Sassen.	Wilfred Street.
J. Spence.	F. Seal.
S. H. Smith.	James A. Spencer.
Edwin Stansfield.	Frank Smith.
W. H. Shirley.	C. C. Stout.
F. W. Summerfield.	James Sharples.
Joseph Smith.	Southern & Nephew, Ltd.
G. H. Stafford.	James W. Southern & Son, Ltd.
H. Shepley.	G. E. Shaw.
Alfred Smithson.	J. H. Sladin & Co.
Stott & Smith.	Benjamin Thornber & Sons, Ltd.
C. Smith.	James Thornber.
J. G. Sansome.	Sharp Thornber.
E. Swan.	J. G. A. Taylor.
J. H. Scholes.	Charles Taylor & Brothers, Ltd.
J. A. Scrimgeour.	Edgar M. Taylor.
J. H. Shuock.	Thomas Taylor (S. Taylor, Ltd.).



## GREAT MANIFESTO AGAINST

Luke Thornber.	James T. Tunstall.
William Tetlow.	W. B. Taylor.
W. H. Taylor.	Abraham Wood.
Frank Taylor.	W. G. Wallis.
C. H. Turner.	James Watts, jun.
John Taylor.	Albert E. Wright.
James Taylor.	Rowland J. Worthington.
James M. Thomas.	Walmsley & Co.
Alfred Topp.	Whittlefield Mill Co., Ltd.
J. T. Tetlow.	John Ward.
Jesse Thorpe.	William H. Wood.
James Tattersall.	Whitehead & Leaver, Ltd.
John E. Taylor.	James Walton, Ltd.
John Trafford.	Robert Walton.
Richard Trafford.	H. Woollin.
Robert Taylor, jun. (Asa Lees & Co., Ltd.).	J. T. Whipp.
R. Thompson & Co., Ltd.	A. S. Wallace.
Richard Thornley.	Witham Halstead & Co.
Elias Taylor.	John S. Wyatt.
William Topham.	Joseph Wild.
James Tattersall & Son.	Handel Whittaker.
Thomas Taylor.	Seth Wrigley.
H. Thompson.	John Warburton.
W. E. Thompson.	George Woolley.
H. Taylor.	A. Watson.
M. Taylor.	Walker, Allen & Son, Ltd.
A. Taylor.	H. Watson.
E. Travis.	J. Wild & Son.
S. Taylor.	S. Watson.
J. Taylor.	George F. Wardle,
S. J. Tattersall.	Alfred Watkin.
J. F. Turner.	T. B. Wood & Son, Ltd.
F. A. Tomlinson.	Henry E. Williams.
F. Taylor.	John Wardley.
William Taylor.	Ernest Ward.
W. S. Tyson.	J. Wrigley.
	R. Wood.

## TARIFF "REFORM"

R. S. Wild.  
John Worrall.  
Edgar G. Walker.  
H. Wolfenden.  
Wilson & Rawlinshaw.  
H. Waterhouse.  
G. Warburton.  
W. H. Walsh.  
M. Wilson.  
J. E. Wood.  
T. Woodward.  
J. Wainwright.  
E. Whitehead.  
T. Walton & Son.  
S. Whittaker.  
W. Whittaker.  
W. Walton.  
John B. Weston.

J. Watson.  
A. C. White.  
S. D. Willis.  
J. W. Wood.  
A. Whitehead.  
S. Watson (J. S. Watson & Son).  
James Watts.  
Arnold Whitworth.  
G. Arthur Watson.  
H. J. Whitham.  
James Walmsley.  
George Yates.  
Ralph Yates.  
T. Yarker.  
C. N. Yowell.  
A. Rowell-Young.  
Frank Yardley.



## APPENDIX F 4.

### LANCASHIRE'S VERDICT.

#### ITS EXPLANATION.

FREE TRADE ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL.<sup>1</sup>

By C. W. MACARA.

Lancashire has given for Free Trade a verdict and a lead to the other industrial centres, in my opinion, more emphatic than that proclaimed in 1906.

In the face of electioneering methods new in this country, though familiar in the United States, whence they have been copied by the Tariff Reformers, the Free Trade vote in Lancashire is more pronounced in 1910 than it was four years ago. This result is impressive. To what must it be attributed?

I believe it to be due, firstly and mainly, to this fact, that the cotton trade is the one great staple industry in England in which employers and operatives work together in dealing with the great problems affecting their mutual industrial weal or woe.

I have myself led various movements for the advancement of cotton trade interests. In all, I have had the active co-operation of the leaders of the operatives.

1. *Sunday Times*, London, Jan. 23rd, 1910.

## LANCASHIRE'S VERDICT

One of the most notable examples of this co-operation between capital and labour is the British Cotton Growing Association. Equally with the employers, the operatives contribute their quota to its funds, and they are represented on the council of the Association.

When that is the situation and the practice, is it surprising that masters and men should join hands in resisting a fiscal policy which their knowledge and experience tell them must involve the absolute ruin of their industry?

In this matter Lancashire has never wavered. Six weeks after Mr. Chamberlain made his pronouncement in favour of Tariff Reform in 1903, a conference representing the leaders of both capital and labour in the cotton industry denounced his proposals in no measured terms. Again in 1906 Lancashire denounced these proposals, and she denounces them to-day with undiminished determination. The arguments against Tariff Reform brought forward at the Conference in 1903 have never been refuted.

Notwithstanding the great development in the cotton industry which has been going on throughout the world, England has well maintained her preponderating position, owning to-day nearly one-half of the world's cotton spindles, and exporting about three-quarters of the production of these spindles and the dependent machinery to all parts of the globe. These exports represent a third of our total exports of manufactures.

Much has been heard of the growth of the exports

## LANCASHIRE'S VERDICT

from other cotton manufacturing countries. It is not generally known that a considerable part of those exports are goods that have been made in Lancashire and exported from these countries after having undergone some further process.

Much, also, has been made of our own imports of cotton manufactures. Again, it is not generally known that a large proportion of these imports are goods made in Lancashire, sent abroad for some special process, such as finishing, dyeing, etc., and sent back to England; in many cases for re-export. Not only is the prosperity of Lancashire dependent upon this great export trade, but its maintenance largely concerns our existence as a commercial nation.

Thanks to our Free Trade policy the nations of the world give us "most favoured nation" treatment in admitting our goods to their markets. Then we can build and equip our mills, weaving sheds, and other dependent undertakings, such as calico printing, bleaching, dyeing, and finishing, at a much lower capital outlay than our competitors in protected countries.

The watchword of Lancashire in business is enterprise. We do not ask for monopoly. As business men we realise that its benefits are illusory.

Enterprise has given the cotton industry a highly specialised and inter-dependent, but at the same time, as I have shown, a delicate and complicated organisation. It has made us keen to adopt every improvement in the making and finishing of our very varied productions. It has made us keen to

## LANCASHIRE'S VERDICT

keep our management more and more efficient; to keep our machinery abreast of the times, and to give the best possible value. On the wonderful expansion which has followed from this bold and courageous policy we have prospered. Tariff Reform is an appeal to timidity. It does not fit the temper of Lancashire.

During the last thirty-five years the world's demand for cotton goods has trebled. If, in the face of that demand, many countries have entered upon cotton manufacture for themselves, such a development was to be expected; the result has not been to cut off our trade, but to encourage greater variety and excellence of fabrics. No manufacturing industry, in proportion to the capital invested, employs so much labour as does the cotton industry. Much of that labour is highly skilled—the inherited skill of generations—and is superior to that obtainable in any other cotton manufacturing country. Excepting in America, where the cost of living is excessive, the wages paid in the English cotton industry are considerably in excess of those paid in any other country, and the hours of labour are fewer.

We are able to compete successfully in all the neutral markets of the world, as well as in the markets of the other twenty-one countries which have a cotton industry of their own.

We are able to do this because of the elasticity of our industry based on the solid foundation of free enterprise.

The most notable example of our hold upon the

## LANCASHIRE'S VERDICT

world's trade is found in the case of India. Our foreign competitors have the same right of entry into the Indian market as we have, yet 95 per cent. of the cotton goods imported into India are supplied by England.

All these things the Lancashire operative knows as well as his employer. Misleading statistics have little effect on him.

In 1906 Lancashire's pronouncement on Free Trade exercised a tremendous influence.

Lancashire's pronouncement in 1910 shows an even greater determination to reject nostrums based largely upon ignorance of the conditions which have enabled us to build up our gigantic export business, representing an annual average of £100,000,000 in cotton goods. To maintain that trade under Tariff Reform would be impossible.

Any doubt as to Lancashire's determination to uphold Free Trade has been repelled by the cotton industry and Free Trade manifestos. The first was signed by all the principal leaders of the operatives; the second by eight hundred representatives of the great cotton firms, and of the subsidiary and dependent industries, as well as by the mercantile interests. Those signatures were obtained on the eve of the poll in two days. The amount of capital represented in this manifesto is colossal.

Unfortunately the great industrial districts in which the wealth of the country is created did not appreciate the want of knowledge in those districts where so much of that wealth is expended, still less could they have believed that an important section

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of the Tariff Reform press, by excluding from its columns plain, businesslike statements by practical men, would have kept its readers in ignorance of the warnings against the ruin which must befall the nation as a whole if Tariff Reform were adopted. But surely by such tactics that section of the press is accepting a very grave responsibility.

I have said before, I repeat it now. A great commercial nation must choose between its own market and the markets of the world. The United States, so far as manufactures are concerned, have chosen their own market. Hence their export of cotton goods is a trifle. Our market is the market of the world. The market of the world it must continue to be. Our population cannot live on any other terms. In my opinion the unique position we now hold in the world's markets, and consequently the livelihood of our whole population, must be seriously endangered by the adoption of a policy which, however applicable to the United States with its large areas of contiguous territory, cannot be applicable to the crowded and limited area of the United Kingdom.

It is incredible that a great commercial nation should jeopardise the industries by which it lives. If we enter on Protection and ruin our commerce, all other problems will sink into insignificance.

This is the opinion Lancashire has pronounced. It is endorsed by a great majority of the other centres of industry. No Government dare disregard the verdict.





## APPENDIX F 5.

### THE INDIAN COTTON DUTIES, 1917.

VIEWS OF SIR CHARLES MACARA, BART.<sup>1</sup>

Ever since the war commenced I have studiously avoided expressing opinions on subjects of political controversy. I have been, for example, repeatedly asked to state my opinions regarding Free Trade and Tariff Reform, but I have invariably declined. My view is that our task is to win the war, and to that end we ought to sink all personal predilections. But on the question now before us I cannot refrain from speaking. As a convinced Free Trader I have never objected to any impost considered necessary for revenue purposes, but it is not fair that Lancashire should be singled out for taxation to the distinct advantage of another part of the Empire. Let us be just to all parts, and not penalise one to the gain of another. It is not right for the Government to give a preference to the Indian manufacturers. Let us have fair competition, no bolstering up on the one hand and no penalising on the other. If the Indian manufacturer can beat us in the open market let him do so, but do not help him by preferential treatment.

. . . . .

I have already explained my attitude towards this controversy, and I cannot add much to what I said in the *Manchester Guardian* on March 3. It will be

1. *Vide Manchester Guardian*, March 14th, 1917.

## INDIAN COTTON DUTIES

remembered, possibly, that in 1903, 1906, and 1910 I took a determined stand from the point of view of a business man—as it is well known that I take no part, and never have done, in party politics—against the Tariff “Reform” movement introduced by Mr. Joseph Chamberlain. I cannot tell you how much I regret that this controversy, or anything approaching the semblance of a controversy, should have been raised at a time when we are passing through the most terrible experience the world has ever known. I have strenuously advocated abstention from controversial matters, which bristle with difficulties, until victory is secured, and I am fully alive to the fact that new conditions will then have to be faced. That will be work, however, for practical men, not for party politicians. I am one of those who hold that professional politicians have no right to introduce measures concerning the welfare, and indeed almost the existence, of the great industries by means of which this country has attained her position of pre-eminence throughout the world, and I have worked hard to federate the industries of the country, which, after all, are only one complex organism, so that what affects one of the great industries of the country practically affects the whole.

It is painful for me to see the views that are expressed by leading London organs regarding matters with which they cannot possibly have any first hand knowledge. It is unfortunate that these journals are read by so many people who are so utterly misinformed regarding the points at issue.

## INDIAN COTTON DUTIES

I would remind Mr. Austen Chamberlain—I do not care for personalities—that if he will follow what was done in 1903, 1906, and 1910, he might possibly, if he is not irrevocably committed, have given some consideration on Monday to the representations of the thoroughly practical men upon whom, after all, the welfare of this country is dependent.<sup>1</sup> It is incredible, as I said in the 1910 controversy, that “a great commercial nation should jeopardise the industries by which it lives. If we enter on Protection and ruin our commerce, all other problems will sink into insignificance.”

1. A deputation consisting of Lancashire members of Parliament of all parties, Lancashire Chambers of Commerce, the Liverpool and Manchester Cotton Associations, the organisations of both employers and operatives in the Cotton industry and others, had waited upon Mr. Austin Chamberlain, Secretary of State for India on March 12, 1917.



## APPENDIX G.

### WOMEN ON THE LAND.

#### SIR CHARLES MACARA AND THE NEEDS OF AGRICULTURE.<sup>1</sup>

Sir Charles Macara, addressing the students and their relatives and friends, at a centre for training women in market gardening, said that increasing the food production within the British Isles was an essential factor in securing victory in this great struggle for the defence of liberty and civilisation, and no more important work could possibly be undertaken by any Government. He was one of those who believed in efficiency in everything, in taking full advantage of scientific research, and utilising whatever was at their disposal; such as, for instance, the linking up of the electrical power stations, and the supply of electrical energy for the driving of agricultural machinery, and possibly, also, for increasing the productivity of the soil. Personally, he had always had the utmost confidence in the work of women, and in serving on a committee in London, where evidence had to be taken regarding various occupations, he was most impressed by the evidence that was given by the principal lady at the Board of Trade as to the manner in which women had adapted themselves to occupations that had in the past been carried on by men. Agriculture still remained our greatest industry, but hitherto the women of England had

1. *Vide* The press, 1917.

## WOMEN ON THE LAND

done less in the cultivation of the soil than those of most of the other countries of the world. Both agriculture and horticulture required as much skill as any other industry. An elementary training, which, although for a time of emergency like the present was invaluable, was not sufficient for permanent success, but must be carried further, and what was wanted was that many centres for training women should be started under the direction of those who were fully qualified to teach. Circumstances had arisen from time to time which had compelled him, in the position he had occupied for so many years in connection with the staple industry of Lancashire, to study agricultural problems, as after all, everything was dependent upon the tillers of the soil for the two prime necessities of life—food and clothing. In 1904 the staple industry of Lancashire was, as it is to-day, in a serious position as regarded shortage of the raw material, which led to the various international movements being started, all cotton-using countries being more or less similarly affected. At that time he had to take a lead in several of these movements in which agriculture played a prominent part; they resulted in the establishment of the British Cotton Growing Association, the International Federation of Master Cotton Spinners' and Manufacturers' Associations, with headquarters in Manchester, and the International Institute of Agriculture, with headquarters in Rome. In connection with these world-wide movements, a Private Cotton Investigation Commission visited the United States in 1906, followed by an international delegation the

## WOMEN ON THE LAND

next year, and a few years later a similar delegation visited Egypt. A great deal of information regarding agriculture was thus acquired. He went to America in 1907 expecting to find up-to-date methods in agriculture. In this, however, he was disappointed. Although as a result of the visits of the Private Cotton Investigation Commission many reforms had been promptly started. A characteristic trait of the American people, however, was shown by the promptitude with which they acted when their deficiencies were brought home to them, and Government experimental farms were quickly instituted, and by this means great reforms brought about. In Egypt, on the other hand, he was equally surprised in 1912 to find the most up-to-date methods in operation. What was done in America was what was so urgently needed in the British Isles, and as he had already said, there ought to be a great extension of centres for training women under efficient teachers. He felt sure there must be any number of young women of good social status who, after receiving thorough training, might qualify as teachers in that work. By so doing they would render invaluable service to their country, not only in this unprecedented crisis, but in the unknown future. He was glad to say that the students who had gone from that centre had all acquitted themselves well, and he hoped the disposition on the part of those who employed students from these centres would be to thoroughly appreciate their patriotism, and to reward them adequately for the valuable services they were rendering to the nation in the present grave crisis.



## APPENDIX H.

### TRAFALGAR DAY, 1916.<sup>1</sup>

1. At Manchester great Trafalgar Day Demonstration, 1916.

#### OUR SAILORS.

SPEECH BY SIR CHARLES W. MACARA, BART.

"I am a landsman, but I have been associated for many years with sailors, and the more I see of them the more I like them. It is a matter of deep regret that Lady Beatty, whose husband's magnificent services to the country in this the greatest of all wars have evoked universal admiration, is unable through indisposition to be present to-day. But I feel highly honoured in being associated with so distinguished a representative of the Navy as Admiral of the Fleet, Sir Hedworth Meux, whose eminent services in connection with the Navy are well known; perhaps the most notable being when, as Captain the Hon. Hedworth Lambton, he commanded the Naval Brigade at Ladysmith, giving a splendid demonstration of what can be accomplished by co-operation between the Navy and the Army, and one that I think will go down to posterity. It is fitting that so distinguished a personage should come to this great centre of industry on Trafalgar Day to advocate the claims of the British and Foreign Sailors' Society, which has done such splendid work for so many years. In looking back upon a somewhat strenuous career, nothing gives me greater satisfaction than the work I have been able to do in promoting the welfare of the seafaring class. This work has always had a great attraction for me. My first public work in connection with the sea was taking part in the



## TRAFALGAR DAY

raising of a fund to provide for the widows and other dependants of twenty-seven lifeboatmen who lost their lives in December, 1886, in a gallant attempt to rescue the crew of the German barque 'Mexico,' wrecked on the treacherous Horse Bank in the estuary of the Ribble, who were ultimately rescued by the Lytham lifeboat. Some years later, in 1891, when the funds of the Royal National Lifeboat Institution had sunk to a somewhat low ebb in proportion to the work carried on by this great voluntary life-saving service, it was Manchester and Salford<sup>1</sup> that came to the rescue and led the way in a popular movement which was taken up throughout the United Kingdom, and which supplied the additional funds necessary to carry on the work efficiently. It was in prosecuting this work that I shall always remember with gratitude the assistance that was rendered by the representatives of this Society who had served in the Navy, and who organised a display of the Rocket Brigade which added materially to the impression made at the first Lifeboat Saturday Demonstration in Manchester, October, 1891. Since that time I have taken a deep interest in the work of the Society, whose claims have been advocated to-day, and have taken part in various events in connection with it, notably the opening of the Fielden Sailors' Rest at Fleetwood, which was presented to the British and Foreign Sailors' Society by Mrs. Samuel Fielden, of Todmorden, and which has done much good work since it was opened, among the sailors and fishermen

1. *Vide* The Book of the Lifeboat, 1891. Report of Committee on the Royal Naval Lifeboat Inquiry, Evidence, Appendix and Index, 1897, Cd. 4394; and the History of The Lifeboat Saturday Fund, 1898 (published by private subscription, and containing documents omitted from the Parliamentary Blue Book).



## TRAFALGAR DAY

residing there or who visit the port. The good example shown by this lady might well be followed by others in establishing similar Homes in various places on the coast wherever they are needed. In this connection I would like to say that it is the lifeboatmen and deep sea fishermen who largely carry on the heroic and dangerous work of mine sweeping, in which service many fishermen have lost their lives. I also had the pleasure of taking part at the banquet given at the Fishmongers' Hall, in London, on the hundredth anniversary of Trafalgar, and was deputed as a Vice-President of the British and Foreign Sailors' Society to present a bust of Nelson to the London Stock Exchange the following day. On that occasion I had the privilege of meeting many distinguished sailors and soldiers. The more that one knows of the work of sailors, the more one feels how deeply we are indebted to them, and how eager we should be to do whatever we can to minister to their welfare. In this great centre of population—9,000,000 within a radius of forty miles—we depend absolutely on our sailors. Not one pound of raw cotton do we grow, all has to be imported, and our great cotton industry is dependent for three-quarters of its employment upon export trade. Through the enterprise and energy of the promoters of the Manchester Ship Canal, the port of Manchester has now, in the value of its exports and imports, attained the position of fourth port in the United Kingdom. Concurrently with this, the tonnage of Liverpool has largely increased. In my experience in advocating the claims of philanthropic institutions, I have always found that with a good cause, forcibly put before the British public, provided that the proper organisation is also available for securing the contributions of all classes of the community according to their

## TRAFALGAR DAY

means, and that it is one of centralisation and decentralisation, and both national and local in its working, success is practically assured, and I have every confidence that the appeal which has been made on behalf of the British and Foreign Sailors' Society will meet with a hearty response."

### TRIBUTE TO THE LATE FIELD MARSHAL EARL KITCHENER.<sup>1</sup>

By Sir CHARLES W. MACARA, Bart.

Speaking at Preston on Easter Sunday afternoon, 1917, Sir Charles W. Macara said :—

"In the stirring events that are taking place, and the fact that the English-speaking nations are now united, I think we have every reason to feel optimistic as to the ultimate victory of the forces fighting for liberty and civilisation.

It has been my privilege to meet many distinguished personages throughout the world, and among these no one impressed me more than Lord Kitchener. He was not only a great soldier but a splendid business man, as well as a man imbued with an intense desire to promote the welfare of humanity and alleviate the lot of the oppressed. I well remember asking his approval regarding an international delegation going to Egypt in connection with Lancashire's staple industry; his reply was : 'I welcome such a delegation. I am in Egypt to do my best for the welfare of the Egyptians, and I wish the world to benefit by whatever I may succeed in accomplishing.' When he received me at the Residency in Cairo, in expressing his satisfaction that the delegation had come to Egypt, he

1. *Vide The Lancashire Daily Post*, April 9th, 1917.

## TRAFALGAR DAY

solicited my help in assisting him to raise the position of the Egyptian peasantry, whose lot he considered exceptionally hard. I have met great soldiers whose business qualities will compare favourably with those of men holding high positions in commerce and industry, and it is equally noteworthy that men engaged in commerce and industry have been transformed into magnificent soldiers. The name of Lord Kitchener will go down to posterity as the greatest military organiser the world has ever seen. I have no hesitation in saying that the heroism and self-sacrifice of the fighting forces of the Empire and of our Allies have never been excelled. In this connection I cannot but allude to the splendid manner in which the women of the country have voluntarily come forward and taken up work in all directions. Had they only been organised as they might have been, the great strain caused by the withdrawal of such large numbers of the manhood of the nation would have been much less severely felt."

*Bookplate*



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